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HAMPTON COURT CONFERENCE

HISTORY OF
THE PURITANS IN ENGLAND:
AND THE
PILGRIM FATHERS.



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LONDON:
THOMAS NELSON, PATERNOSTER ROW.
NEW YORK:
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HISTORY OF

THE PURITANS IN ENGLAND,

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THE PILGRIM FATHERS.

THE PURITANS IN ENGLAND
BY THE
REV. W. H. STOWELL, PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY, ROTTERHAM COLLEGE.

THE PILGRIM FATHERS.
BY
D. WILSON, F. S. A. SCOT., AUTHOR OF CROMWELL AND THE PROTECTORATE,
&c. &c.

IN ONE VOLUME.

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1849

HISTORY OF
THE PURITANS IN ENGLAND,
UNDER
THE REIGNS OF THE TUDORS AND THE STUARTS.

BY THE
REV. W. H. STOWELL,
PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY, BOTHERHAM COLLEGE.

PREFACE.

THIS volume is intended to compress, within narrow limits, the story of the English Puritans, by weaving into the tissue of the general narrative some biographical details respecting the men who bore that name. The writer has spared no pains in consulting the best authorities on both sides of the great controversy of which Puritanism was the result. He can conscientiously present the history to the public as authentic; and he hopes it will not be condemned by any intelligent and candid reader as wanting in fairness towards the opponents of the Puritans. If there is less of the tone of an advocate and admirer than in some other works of the same description, he has only to say, that he has described the Puritans as they have appeared to his own mind in reading their writings and those of their contemporaries; that he has felt no anxiety about gratifying the spirit of party; and that he has long been convinced of the folly, as well as the injustice, of loading the men of any principles, in any age, with excessive praise. The time has come, by general consent, for doing justice to the memory of the English Puritans. Let justice suffice. Their doings belong to our national history, their writings to our national literature; and we claim the inheritance of their principles, not for a particular religious community, but for the English people. They were not heroes; but they were plain, good, religious men; though not without their mistakes and their faults. Yet they were the living witnesses of great truths, of great social principles, and of great religious doctrines in critical and stirring times. They were more nearly related

to the Reformers than to any of the modern churches. They were Church of England men : not Dissenters. They were advocates for the establishment of Christianity, and of their own views of Christianity, by law.

Our notions of the Puritans will be regulated by our notions of the Reformers. It is shown, in the following pages, that Puritanism was the natural, inevitable fruit of the Reformation. Henry VIII. was the remote author of the Bartholomew Act. Baxter was the true representative of Cranmer; and the ejected clergy of the reign of Charles II. were the spiritual successors of the martyrs of Smithfield in the reign of Mary. It belongs not to English history to trace the principles of the Puritans through the records of other lands; otherwise, it would be easy to prove their identity with those of the earliest churches, even up to the beginning of the Christian era.

The men did not invent the principles. They received them from the revelation of God, as they understood that revelation, and as they believed it. What they did in religion, they did from a conviction that they were doing what they were bound to do, and what they had a right to do. Whether they were right or wrong in their opinions, their enemies were wrong in treating them as they did. Their whole history is a lesson to men, and a lesson to rulers of men, whether in churches or in states. It teaches every man to think for himself in religion, and to act according to his own conscience. It teaches rulers of men that conscience is beyond their province; that they can neither coerce it nor bribe it; that to neglect or punish men for being conscientious, is to oppose the strongest instinct of human nature, and to fight against God; that freedom is the only safeguard of thrones and constitutions; and that religion, left alone by human governments, is the purest and the strongest element of freedom.

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THE

HISTORY OF THE PURITANS IN ENGLAND,

UNDER THE REIGNS OF THE

TUDORS AND STUARTS.

BOOK I.

THE ENGLISH REFORMERS—THE PRECURSORS OF THE PURITANS.

CHAPTER I.—INTRODUCTION.

THE PURITANS occupy too large a space in the public affairs of England, during the two most eventful centuries of her history, to require any apology for attempting to bring the men and their proceedings before the public on avowedly catholic principles. Not only the ecclesiastical, but the political, annals and institutions of this country, are most intimately concerned in such an inquiry. It is by resistance to oppression, by struggles for the removal of grievances, by manly controversy, and by strenuous action or patient suffering for truth and freedom, that England has slowly risen to her present rank among the nations; and he is but an unenlightened patriot, and a narrow-minded churchman, who has not traced the steps of that advancement.

The materials of a history of the English Puritans are immeasurably more copious than any person could imagine, whose attention has not been specially directed to them. They are scattered through all our general histories, both Catholic and Protestant. They abound in separate memoirs of statesmen and ecclesiastics of all parties; in collections of pamphlets; in prefaces and notes to controversial works; in

BOOK I
CHAP. I

BOOK I. various writings on law, literature, and government; in the
 CHAP. I. dispatches of ambassadors, and letters of private persons; and in large collections of manuscripts, laid up in public libraries, or preserved by the pious industry of individuals, whose connexions, or whose tastes, have prompted peculiar interest in such studies.

The character of previous histories of the Puritans.

The greater part of the works which have formally narrated the lives, or discussed the opinions or characters, of the Puritans, are naturally tinged with party views, and with party views of more descriptions than one: since political, no less than religious, sentiments and interests are involved in such statements and discussions. For this there is one remedy. It is but fair to read what has been written on all sides. To do this with calmness and impartiality, though confessedly difficult, is not impossible. It has been done by men whose hereditary or conventional prejudices are in opposite directions. The habit of so doing is one of the advantages which have sprung from the disputes of former generations, and from the broader views and more independent modes of thinking, which have accompanied the progress of society in knowledge, virtue, and social freedom. It is not now necessary that a man should be a bigot before he can discern the faults of the Puritans, or that he should be one of their followers, in order to appreciate their abilities, their learning, and their piety. Without blind partisanship on either one side or the other, it is in the power of sensible readers to conclude, on the evidence of facts, whether, on the whole, the Puritans were right or wrong; and—whether they are considered as having been right or wrong—it must be worth every man's while to know, as far as he can, what sort of men they were; how they lived and died; and what lasting effects, for good or evil, or both, they have left behind them.

The design of the work.

To present ordinary readers of all parties with a faithful account of the Puritans, drawn from divers sources, and confined within moderate limits, is the design of the present volume.

It may not be amiss to say, that, under the denomination Puritans, are included numbers of learned and good men, who never separated, and never desired to separate, from the Established Church of England; as well as large numbers,

believed to have been equally learned and good, who were separated, by authority, from that church, for persisting in certain scruples: to both of which classes are to be added not a few, who objected to the constitution and discipline with which all the others were conscientiously satisfied.

BOOK I.
CHAP. I.

The designation PURITANS, was at first a term of reproach. It was the revival of an ancient nickname, and was intended to mark those to whom it was applied, as *pretenders* to greater purity of religious worship than that which was fixed by the majority in the convocation of 1562. The ridicule associated with the name in modern times is founded, partly, on the fact that much precision and austerity were exhibited by *many* of the Puritans; but, still more, on the misrepresentations which have been perpetuated by the prejudices of the ignorant. The only principle in which all the English Puritans agreed, was their Protestantism. Differing in one or more points of doctrinal belief, church government, and modes of worship; on the relation of the church to the state; on tolerating or suppressing popery; and on many questions of public policy; they were uniformly decided in their rejection of the authority of the Church of Rome.

Origin of
the term
Puritan.

The position of the Puritans of England can be but imperfectly understood, if their history is not viewed in connection with the general state of Europe at the time when they arose. It was the beginning of Modern History in England, the dawn of a new era to Europe, when "all those events happened, and all those revolutions began, that have produced so vast a change in the manners, customs, and interests, of particular nations, and in the whole policy, ecclesiastical and civil, of these parts of the world."* There were causes at work in Europe generally, and particularly in England, which must not be overlooked, if we are to understand this part of our history. The dispersion of learned men, and the increased attention to books, which followed the destruction of the Eastern Empire by the Turks at the taking of Constantinople, prepared the way for the invention of printing, the use of the compass, the discovery of America, the decline of feudal institutions, the increasing

The forerun-
ners of the
Puritans.

* Bolingbroke's Letters on the Study and Use of History Letter VI

BOOK I. wealth, intelligence, and importance of the middle classes,
 CHAP. I. and the beginning of the Swiss and German reformations in religion. In England, the spirit of Wickliffe and the Lollards was never entirely extinguished; for, however obscure their followers, history affords continual evidence of their inquisitive and resisting spirit. The English people were steadily rising to a participation in the political power and freedom which had, aforetime, been the privilege of the barons. The literature and language of the country were making rapid advances.—There were many considerations leading to changes in the church. The aggressions of the popes were resented by the people, conscious of their growing power; while their rapacity awoke the hatred of the clergy. The vices of the clergy themselves had called forth the stinging rebukes of Dr. Colet, the dean of St. Paul's, some years before the appearance of Luther, as a reformer, at Wittemberg. A calm, devout, and patient protest against the corruptions of religion had been gathering strength in the bosom of English society. The popular poetry of Chaucer and his imitators had familiarized the people with the grosser faults of priests and "pardoners." The elegant and varied learning of Erasmus—who resided much in England, and who taught at both the universities, and gained the friendship of Henry VIII. and of the best and most learned men in the nation—had diffused a thoughtful spirit among the higher ranks. These things were independent of Luther; yet they prepared for the acceptance and popularity of his writings in this country.

All the leading events of Europe bore upon the reformation of religion; and the same tendency is obvious in the most important movements of the national mind in England. Nor should the fact be lost sight of, that the Fathers of the English reformation mostly held opinions, and indulged in language, not less strong than those for which the Puritans were afterwards condemned.

A brief sketch of the Fathers of the English Church will show how far the Puritans may be fairly regarded as men of the same order, embracing the same principles, and walking in the same steps.

In Fox's "Acts and Monuments" WILLIAM TINDAL is spoken of as a man "who, for his notable pains and travail, may well be called the Apostle of England in this our latter

The Fathers
of the English
Church.

Tindal.

age, as he was a special organ of the Lord appointed, and as God's mattock, to shake the inward roots and foundations of the Pope's proud Prelacy."

BOOK I.
CHAP. I.

Born in the borders of North Wales, he distinguished himself in early youth by his general learning, especially his knowledge of the scriptures, as well as by his unspotted life. Leaving Oxford, he made his abode for a time at Cambridge. Having become private tutor in the family of Sir John Walsh, of Little Sodbury Manor, in Gloucestershire, he excited so much attention and opposition by his disputes with learned doctors and churchmen round about, that he was brought before the chancellor of the diocese, who "rated him as though he had been a dog." Harassed by the ignorant priests of Gloucestershire, he sought rest first in London, afterwards at Hamburg, and then at Cologne, where he devoted himself to the translation of the scriptures into his mother-tongue. He brought out the New Testament in 1526, which was followed by the five books of Moses, with "sundry most learned and godly prologues." He visited Saxony, where he had conferences with Luther and other learned men, but took up his abode chiefly at Antwerp. In a voyage to Hamburg for the purpose of printing his translation of the Pentateuch, he was shipwrecked on the coast of Holland, and lost all his books, writings, and copies. But he persevered; and, with the help of Miles Coverdale, went a second time through the labour of translation. The prelates of the realm procured a proclamation from the King, prohibiting the use of his translation of the New Testament, with other works, both by him and by other writers. In the year 1527, Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, spent a large sum of money, and invited other bishops to follow his example, in buying up these Testaments to burn them.* Still they found their way, concealed in various kinds of merchandise, into both England and Scotland. For seven years Tindal eluded the attempts of his enemies to seize his person. At length, in 1535, he was betrayed by Gabriel Donne, a monk from Stratford Abbey, and by a man of the name of Philips, employed by the English bishops; he was apprehended in the Emperor's name at Antwerp, and

* Tonsal, Bishop of London, and Sir Thomas More, bought up nearly the whole impression, and burned them at St. Paul's Cross.

BOOK I.
CHAP. I.

Tindal's con-
demnation
and martyr-
dom.

conveyed to the prison of Vilford near Brussels. Abandoned in his solitude, both by the Lord Cromwell and by Cranmer, he had one friend, Thomas Poyntz, an English merchant in Antwerp, who, for trying to save him, was himself thrown into prison at Brussels. After many disputations and examinations, Tindal was condemned as a heretic, by virtue of a decree of the Emperor made at Augsburg; and, shortly after, he was brought to the place of execution, where he was led to a stake: there, with fervent zeal, and loud voice, he cried, "Lord! open the eyes of the King of England!" and then, first, he was with an halter strangled, and afterwards consumed with fire, in the year 1536.*

The writings
of Tindal.

The works of Tindal, with those of Frith, and those of Barnes, dated 1573, were printed under the sanction of Edward VI., by John Daye, London. Among these is a "Pathway into the Holy Scripture, made by William Tindal." It contains a luminous explanation of the terms—the Old Testament; the New Testament; the Law; the Gospel; Moses; Christ; Nature; Faith; Grace; Working and Believing; Deeds and Faith: it is, in fact, a body of scriptural theology, expressed with great force and fulness of illustration. The conclusion is in the following strain. "These things, I say, to know, is to have all the scriptures unlocked and opened before thee, so that if thou wilt go in and read, thou canst not but understand. And in these things to be ignorant, is to have all the scriptures locked up, so that the more thou readest it, the blinder thou art; and the more contrariety thou findest in it, and the more tangled art thou therein, and canst nowhere through. For if thou add a gloss in one place, in another it will not serve. And therefore, because we be never taught the profession of our baptism, we remain always unlearned, as well the *spirituality*, for all their great clergy and high stools (as we say) as the lay people. And now because the lay and unlearned people are taught these first principles of our profession, therefore they read the Scripture and understand and delight therein. And our great pillars of holy church—which have nailed a vail of false glosses on Moses' face, to corrupt the true understand-

* Fox's Acts and Monuments of the Christian Martyrs. For the most complete and interesting account of Tindal, see the Annals of the English Bible, by Christopher Anderson. Two vols. 8vo., Pickering, London, 1845.

ing of his law—cannot come in, and therefore bark, and say—the Scripture maketh heretics, and it is not possible for them (the people) to understand it in English, because they themselves do not, in Latin. And, of pure malice that they cannot have their will, they slay their brethren for their faith they have in our Saviour, and therewith shew their bloody wolfish tyranny, and what they be within, and whose disciples. Herewith, reader, be committed unto the grace of our Saviour Jesus, unto whom, and God our Father, through him, be praise for ever and ever; amen.”

In a preface to the New Testament, in 1534, he says, Tindal's New Testament.
“As concerning all I have translated, or otherwise written, I beseech all men to read it; for that purpose I wrote it, even to bring them to the knowledge of the Scripture, and, as far as the Scripture approveth it, so far to allow it, and, if in any place the word of God disallow it, there to refuse it, as I do before our Saviour Christ, and his congregation.”

In vindicating the doctrines of the reformers from the objections of Sir Thomas More, in his “Dialogue,” he says Answer to Sir Thomas More.
“‘Thou art a strong heretic, and worthy to be burnt;’ and then he is excommunicated out of the church. If the little flock fear not that bay, then they (their enemies) go straight to the King:—‘An it like your Grace, perilous people and seditious, and even enough to destroy your realm, if ye see not to them betimes, they are so obstinate and tough, that they will not be converted, and rebellious against God and the ordinances of his holy church; and how much more shall they be so against your Grace, if they increase and grow to a multitude? They will pervert all, and surely make new laws, and either subdue your Grace unto them, or rise against you;’ and then goeth a part of the little flock to pot, and the rest scatter. Thus hath it ever been, *and shall ever be*: let no man, therefore, deceive himself.”* His writings, in addition to his translations and prologues, are not very numerous; but they breathe the same sentiments as those of the Puritans in later times.

JOHN FRITH, the bosom friend of Tindal, became acquainted with him, and received the gospel from him at Cambridge, where he became, as Fox expresses it, “an exquisitely learned man.” He was the chief of the great John Frith.

* History of the Reformation. See Burnet, i. 167-8.

BOOK I. scholars chosen by Wolsey to adorn his college (Christ's
CHAP. I. Church) at Oxford. Being imprisoned on a charge of heresy,
but released on condition of not passing above ten miles out of
Oxford, he took alarm on hearing of the indignities inflicted
on Dalaber and Garret, two of his fellow-sufferers, and made
his escape beyond theseas. Two years after this voluntary ban-
ishment, he returned, at the invitation of the Prior of Reading.

"Being at Reading, it happened that he was there taken
for a vagabond, and brought to examination, where the
simple man, who could not craftily enough colour himself,
was set in the stocks. Where, after he had sat a long time,
and was almost pined with hunger, and would not for all
that declare what he was; at the last, he desired that the
schoolmaster of the town might be brought to him, who at
that time was Leonard Cox, a man very well learned. As
soon as he came to him, Frith, by and by, began in the
Latin tongue to bewail his captivity. The schoolmaster, by
and by, being overcome with his eloquence, did not only
take pity and compassion upon him, but also began to love
and embrace such an excellent wit and disposition, unlooked
for in such an estate and misery. Afterward, they, confer-
ring together upon many things, as touching the univer-
sities, schools, and tongues, fell from the Latin into the
Greek; wherein Frith did so inflame the love of the school-
master toward him, that he brought him into a marvellous
admiration, especially when the schoolmaster heard him so
promptly, by heart, rehearse Homer's verses out of his first
book of Iliads. Whereupon the schoolmaster went, with
all speed, unto the magistrates, grievously complaining of
the injury which they did shew unto so excellent and inno-
cent a young man. This Frith, through the help of the
schoolmaster, was freely released out of the stocks, and set
at liberty without punishment."*

Frith did not continue long in safety. He was eagerly
pursued by the chancellor, Sir Thomas More. After many
narrow escapes, he was imprisoned in the Tower of London,
where he maintained long conflicts with the bishops, and
especially with the chancellor. Having incautiously in-
trusted a friend with a copy of a paper he had drawn up on
the doctrine of the Eucharist, he was summoned before

Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, Stokely, Bishop of London, and other learned men, appointed commissioners to examine him, at Croydon. The gentleman who conducted him from the Tower to Croydon, while rowing in a ferry towards Lambeth, tried to persuade Frith not to "stand stiff" to his opinion; and devised a scheme with the archbishop's porter, who accompanied them, for his escape; but Frith refused, saying, "Do you think I am afraid to declare my opinion to the bishops of England on a manifest truth? I should run from my God, and from the testimony of his holy word, worthy then of a thousand hells! And, therefore, I most heartily thank you both for your good wills towards me, beseeching you to bring me where I was to be brought; for, else, will I go thither alone."

After his examination before the commissioners, he was confined in the Bishop of London's consistory ("the butcher's stall," as Fox calls it.) Sentence was passed against him. The Bishop of London committed him to the Mayor and sheriffs of London, on the 4th of July 1533. He was burnt to death at Smithfield, together with Andrew Hewit. Dr. Cole, a parson in London, openly admonished all the people that they should in no wise pray for them, no more than they would for a dog; at which words, Frith, smiling, desired the Lord to forgive them. Their words did not a little move the people unto anger; and not without good

Condemnation and martyrdom of Frith and Hewit.

Frith left behind him some admirable treatises. (1.) "A Mirror or Glass to know Thyself:" in which he shows that "all goodness cometh of God, and all evil of ourselves; that the gifts we receive from God are rather a charge than a pleasure; that no flesh should rejoice, but rather fear and tremble, for the gifts that he receiveth." (2.) "A Mirror, or Looking Glass, wherein you may behold the Sacrament of Baptism described by me, John Frith." In this treatise he exposes the prevailing errors of those who put confidence in the outward sign; showing that it "doth neither give us the Spirit of God, nor yet grace, that is the favour of God."—"If thou be baptized a thousand times with water, and have no faith, it availeth thee no more towards God than it doth a goose, when she ducketh herself under the water."

Writings of Frith.

He next confutes the error of those who "so strongly

BOOK I. stick unto the weak ceremonies." Speaking of the apostolic
 CHAP. I baptism, he says, "There will no man deny, but that that
 baptism was as full and as good as ours, and yet was there
 neither font nor holy water, candle, cream, oil, salt, *good-
 father or goodmother.*"

Answer to
 Rastal and
 Sir Thomas
 More.

(3.) In answer to Rastal and Sir Thomas More, he published a "Book of Purgatory," wherein he unfolds the scripture doctrines of good works, of the efficacy of the death of Christ, and of hell. (4.) A beautiful letter, in the true spirit of the apostles, "To the faithful Followers of Christ's Gospel," while he was prisoner in the Tower of London, "for the word of God, A.D. 1532." (5.) He translated a work called "The Revelation of Antichrist," in 1529, to which he added an Antithesis, "wherein are compared the Acts of Christ and the Pope,"—a most vigorous composition, contrasting Christ and the Pope in seventy-seven particulars. He concludes thus:—"There are infinite other things in which he contradicteth Christ, insomuch that, if it be diligently examined, I think there is no word that Christ spake, but the other hath taught, or made a law, against it. Howbeit, to avoid tediousness, we shall leave them unto your own judgment, for they are soon searched out and copied. Judge, Christian reader, all these things with a simple eye: be not partially addicted to the one nor to the other, but judge them by the Scripture; and acknowledge that to be true which God's word doth allow, avoiding all other doctrine; for it springeth of Satan. Be not ashamed to confess Christ (and to take him for thy head) before these ravenous wolves; for then shall he confess thee again before his Father, and the angels in heaven. Then shalt thou be inheritor with Jesus Christ, and the faithful Son of thy Father which is in heaven, to whom be all glory eternally. Amen!"

On the Sacra-
 ment.

Vindication
 of the Refor-
 mers.

(6.) Several works on the Sacrament, some of them in controversy with Sir Thomas More. In these he presents the Scripture doctrine with remarkable clearness and force, and vindicates the character of some of the Reformers from the aspersions cast upon them by Sir Thomas More. "Luther," he says, "is not the prick that I run at: (an allusion to the tournament) but the Scripture of God. I do neither affirm nor deny any thing because Luther so said, but because the Scriptures of God do so conclude and determine. I take not

Luther for such an author that I think he cannot err ; but I think that verily he both may err, and doth err, in certain points, although not such as concern salvation and damnation, for in these (blessed be God) all those whom ye call heretics do agree right well. The soul ye cannot bind nor burn ; but God may bless where you curse ; and curse where you bless." In reply to the Chancellor's insinuation, that some of the Reformers had died by the judgments of God, he says, after refuting the false principle, "therefore me thinketh that this man is too malapert, so bluntly to enter into God's judgment, and give sentence in that matter, before he be called to counsel."

BOOK I
CHAP. I.

In the same work he draws out a comparison between the Paschal Lamb and the Christian Supper, in twelve particulars, which no Christian of the present day can read without instruction and edification.

ROBERT BARNES, D.D. was born near Lynn, in Norfolk. In his early youth he was associated with the Augustine mendicant friars. At Cambridge he was the companion of Bishop Bale, a learned and zealous reformer, author of "Scriptorum Illustrium Britannicorum," and other works, to be hereafter noticed. After studying some years at Louvain, Barnes returned to England, and became Prior of the Augustines in Cambridge. With the help of Thomas Parnel, whom he had brought with him from Louvain, he promoted sound learning, then openly read Paul's epistles in the house, and made "divers good divines." He became famous as a reader, disputer, and preacher, and was converted to spiritual religion by Bilney and other Reformers. He was accused of heresy for his first sermon at St. Edward's church, belonging to Trinity College, Cambridge, by two Fellows of King's Hall. A house near St. John's College, called the White Horse, but nicknamed *Germany* by their enemies, became the resort of the "godly learned in Christ," from several halls and colleges, who flocked together to enjoy the instructions of Dr. Barnes. He was again accused before the Vice-chancellor. He was urged to recant, but refused. A pulpit warfare was kept up for some months between the conflicting parties. Suddenly a sergeant-at-arms arrested Dr. Barnes openly in the Convocation House, and a hasty search was made for the works of Luther and other German

Robert
Barnes, D. D.

Becomes
Prior of the
Augustines
at Cam-
bridge.

Accused of
Heresy.

Arrested in
the Convoca-
tion House.

BOOK I.
CHAP. I.

Reformers. Dr. Barnes was taken to London, where he had a long interview with Cardinal Wolsey, displaying the pomp and pride of Wolsey in strong contrast with the meek and dignified bearing of Barnes.

Interview
with Cardi-
nal Wolsey.

On a set day, the church of St. Paul's being crowded, the cardinal sat enthroned in purple, on a scaffold on the top of the stairs, surrounded by six-and-thirty abbots, mitred priors, and bishops; and his chaplains and spiritual doctors, in gowns of damask and satin. Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, preached against Luther and Dr. Barnes from a new pulpit, likewise erected on the top of the stairs. Having humbled himself before this proud prelate, Barnes became a prisoner in the Fleet, and afterwards at Austin Friars. From thence

Escapes to
Antwerp.

he was removed to the Austin Friars at Northampton, to be burnt. However, he escaped from his enemies to Antwerp, and thence into Germany, where he obtained much favour from the Reformers, and from the Protestant princes of Saxony and Denmark. The King of Denmark sent him as one of his ambassadors to Henry VIII. Afterwards, Henry VIII. sent him as his ambassador to the Duke of Cleves, to treat for the marriage of the Lady Anne. But when Stephen Gardiner came from France, where he had been on an embassy to the King, the face of affairs was soon changed. Barnes, with Garret, Curate in Honey Lane, London, and Jerome, Vicar of Stepney, were apprehended at the instigation of Gardiner, and examined before the King at Hampton Court. Gardiner preached a violent sermon against the Reformers at Paul's Cross, which was vehemently answered, in the same place, by Barnes, three Sundays after. Gardiner complained to the King of Barnes' rude personal attack upon himself, "a bishop and prelate of this realm." The King called Barnes to his closet, where he severely rebuked him. After long controversies between Gardiner and Barnes, as well public as private, the latter was committed to the Tower, where he continued from Easter till the end of July 1541. Two days after the death of Lord Cromwell, a process against Barnes, Garret, and Jerome ensued in the King's Council in Parliament, and, without any public hearing, or knowledge of the grounds of their condemnation, they were led from the Tower to Smithfield to be burned.

Returns as
Ambassador
of the King
of Denmark.

Sent by Hen-
ry VIII. to
the Duke of
Cleves.

Apprehend-
ed by order
of Gardiner.

Committed
to the Tower.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I

His protest at
the stake.

While at the stake, Barnes delivered a calm protest against the injustice of his sentence, and a noble declaration of his Christian belief; after which he asked the sheriff—"Have ye any article against me for the which I am condemned?" The sheriff answered, "No." "Then," said he, "is there here any man that knoweth wherefore I die, or that by my preaching hath taken any error? Let them now speak, and I will make my answer." There was no reply. "Then," said Barnes, "I am condemned by the law to die; and, as I understand, by an act of parliament; but wherefore I cannot tell, but belike for heresy; for we are like to burn. But they that have been the occasion of it, I pray God forgive them, as I would be forgiven myself. And Dr. Stephen, (Gardiner) Bishop of Winchester, that now is, if he have sought or wrought this my death, either by word or deed, I pray God forgive him as heartily, as freely, as charitably, and without feigning, as ever Christ forgave them that put him to death." Then he exhorted the people to pray for "the King's grace," and to obey him with all humility; and he sent sundry messages to the King and to others, by the sheriff. "Then," says Fox, "desired he all men to forgive him, and if he had said any evil at any time unadvisedly, whereby he had offended any man, or given any occasion of evil, that they would forgive it him, and amend that evil they took of him, and to bear him witness that he detested and abhorred all evil opinions and doctrines against the Word of God, and that he died in the faith of Jesus Christ, by whom he doubted not but to be saved. And with these words he desired them all to pray for him; and then he turned him about, and put off his clothes, making him ready for the fire, patiently there to take his death. And so, after prayer made by him and his two fellow-martyrs, wherein most effectually they desired the Lord Jesus to be their comfort and consolation in their affliction, and to establish them with perfect faith, constancy, and patience, through the Holy Ghost, they, taking themselves by the hands, and kissing one another, quietly and humbly offered themselves to the hands of their tormentors; and so took their death both christianly and constantly, with such patience as might well testify the goodness of their cause, and quiet of their conscience." *

The martyr-
dom of
Barnes,
Garret, and
Jerome.

* Fox's Acts and Monuments of Christian Martyrs.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

The works which Barnes left behind him are:—Two Treatises on Justification, and on Free Will, in which the doctrines of the Reformation are maintained from Scripture, and copiously illustrated from the writings of Ambrose, Augustine, and others of the Fathers; the Lives of the Popes; the Judgment of the Doctors; and the heads of his own Discourses, in Latin; and a considerable number of shorter pieces in English.

There were two reformers of the name of RIDLEY, descended from an ancient knightly family of that name, still flourishing in Northumberland.

Launcelot
Ridley.

LAUNCELOT RIDLEY was educated at King's Hall, Cambridge, and made doctor in divinity in 1540. He is praised as a man skilled in the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin tongues. He was promoted by Archbishop Cranmer to be one of the six preachers in Canterbury Cathedral. Under the reign of Mary, he was ejected from his living, because he was married. I can find no record of his later years, some saying that he lived in concealment, others, that he recanted during that troublous time. Bishop Bale speaks of him thus:—"The commentaries which the virtuous, learned man, Master Launcelot Ridley, made upon Saint Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians, for the true erudition of his Christian brethren, hath my Lord Bonner here also condemned for heresy. But what the cause is I cannot tell, unless it be for advancing the gospel as the thing whereby we are made righteous without either decree or ceremony; or else for admonishing us to beware of men's traditions and doctrines, lest we should by them trust in any other thing than Christ; and lest we should, for their glittering gains, refuse the spiritual armour against the devil and his members, which Paul hath there presented unto us." He published, besides the commentary on the Ephesians, commentaries on Joshua, Matthew, Colossians, second Thessalonians, second and third epistles of John, and on Jude; also, "The Thirteen Abuses of the Mass," and a treatise on the "Marriage of Priests." The commentaries on Ephesians and Philippians were first published in 1540, and re-published from an original copy in the University Library of Cambridge, together with an extract from his exposition upon Jude. All these expositions display the deep insight into the spirit of the

His works.

New Testament, and the warmth of holy feeling, which characterize the best writers of that age. They are brief, terse, and plain; and they do not occupy altogether much more space than the contents of the present volume.

BOOK I.
CHAP. I.

HUGH LATIMER, the "worthy champion, and old practised soldier of Christ," was the only son of Hugh Latimer, a substantial yeoman of Thirkisson, in Leicestershire. So rapid was his progress in learning, at the county schools, that, at the age of fourteen, he was sent to the University of Cambridge. None could excel him in attachment to school-divinity, in his superstition, or in the bitterness with which he opposed the Reformers and their doctrines. Thomas Bilney was the happy means of his conversion. He soon discovered his zeal for evangelical truth, in his private instructions to the learned, and in his preaching to the people. His famous sermons on "The Cards," full of popular and pungent attacks on the prevailing superstitions, provoked the opposition of Buckingham, prior of the Dominicans, in sermons on "The Dice," intended to show the inexpediency of having the Scriptures in English. Latimer heard the friar. The friar, in return, sat in front of Latimer, underneath the pulpit, amidst a great crowd of towns-people, and scholars of the University, to hear his answer. After refuting the friar's objections to the vulgar people having the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, he proceeded to illustrate the figurative phrases of the Scripture, by the usage of all languages, and, looking toward the friar, he said, "As, for example, when they paint a fox preaching out of a friar's cowl, none is so mad as to take this to be a fox that preacheth, but know well enough the meaning of the matter, which is to paint out unto us what hypocrisy, craft, and subtle dissimulation lieth hid many times in these friars' cowls, willing us thereby to beware of them."

Hugh Latimer.

Provokes the opposition of the Dominican Prior

Another monk, a grey friar, named Doctor Wenelus, a native of Holland, railed against Latimer, as a mad and brainless man. Many other friars and doctors swarmed in their opposition. Dr. West, Bishop of Ely, preached against him, at Barnwell Abbey, forbidding his preaching any more in the churches of the University. But Dr. Barnes, already mentioned, licensed him to preach in his church, at Austin Friars. For three years, Latimer still continued at Cam-

Silenced by Bishop West, but licensed to preach by Dr. Barnes.

BOOK I.
CHAP. I.

Sermon be-
fore the King.

bridge, the bishop himself being compelled to acknowledge his admiration of his talents. During this time, Bilney was his constant companion, in study, in walking, in visiting the prisoners, and in other works of charity. In one of their visits to the prison, they found a woman accused of murdering her own child, which she plainly and steadfastly denied. Latimer and Bilney believed, on careful inquiry, that the woman was innocent. Soon after, Latimer was preaching before the King, Henry VIII., at Windsor. The King invited Latimer to talk familiarly with him after the sermon, when the preacher took the opportunity of laying open this case, and he returned to Cambridge with a royal pardon in his hand.

Dr. Redman's
Letter.

Latimer's
Reply.

The growing fame and success of Latimer called forth a letter, in Latin, from Dr. Redman, a mild and liberal man, but addicted to the old superstition. He exhorted Latimer not to prefer his own judgment in matters of religion and controversy, before so many learned men, and the whole Catholic Church. To this letter Latimer calmly replied: "Reverend Master Redman, it is even enough for me, that Christ's sheep hear no man's voice but Christ's; as for you, you have no voice of Christ against me; whereas, for my part, I have a heart that is ready to hearken to any voice of Christ that you can bring me. Thus, fare you well, and trouble me no more, from the talking with the Lord my God."

Cited before
Cardinal
Wolsey.

Favoured by
Cromwell,
and promot-
ed to be
Bishop of
Worcester.

At the end of three years, Latimer was cited, by some members of the University, before Cardinal Wolsey, for heresy, and commanded to subscribe such articles as they presented to him. Not long after his return to Cambridge, he obtained the favour of the King, by means of Dr. Butts, the King's physician, and remained some time at court; but, being weary of that way of life, he returned to a benefice at West-Kingston, in Wiltshire, where he laboured so zealously, that he was soon called before Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Stokesly, Bishop of London, in 1531. He was saved from the malice of his persecutors by the influence of Lord Cromwell with the King. He was promoted to be Bishop of Worcester, which office he discharged with great faithfulness and energy for several years, until the coming of THE SIX ARTICLES; when, to preserve the quiet of

BOOK I

CHAP. I.

Imprisoned
in the Tower

a good conscience, he resigned his episcopal charge. It was not long before he visited London, for the remedy of a serious hurt, occasioned by the fall of a tree, which had well-nigh killed him. The bishops cast him into the Tower; where he remained a prisoner till the accession of Edward VI. During the brief reign of that prince, the good old man, above seventy-six years of age, was indefatigable in his studies and in his preaching.

Accession of
Queen Mary.

Queen Mary had scarcely been proclaimed, when Latimer was summoned, from the neighbourhood of Coventry, to London. As he passed through Smithfield he merrily said, "Smithfield has long groaned for me." For a long time he was kept in close confinement in the Tower. One day, the lieutenant's man coming in, the aged bishop, nearly dead of cold, being without fire in the frost of winter, pleasantly bade the man tell his master, that, if he did not look better to him, perchance he would deceive him. When the lieutenant heard this, he came to him, and charged him with these words. "Yea, Master Lieutenant," he replied, "so I said; for you look, I think, that I should *burn*; but, except you let me have some fire, I am like(ly) to deceive your expectations, for I am like(ly) here to starve with *cold*."

Condemned
to the Stake
at Oxford.

From the Tower he was sent to Oxford, where he was condemned to die. His conferences with the Bishop of Lincoln are given at length by Fox. They are chiefly remarkable for his firm adherence to the Scriptures. The place of his execution was the ditch opposite Baliol College, on the north side of the town. He suffered along with Bishop Ridley, of whom we shall presently speak.

Latimer's
Works.

The works of Latimer are numerous, consisting chiefly of sermons. Twelve of these sermons are reprinted entire, with copious extracts from others, in "The Fathers of the English Church," published in 1802. A much larger collection of his sermons, together with his letters, and his Protestation to the Queen's Commissioners at Oxford, in 1554, was published in a series of the British Reformers, by the Religious Tract Society, some years ago. The close of the Protestation bespeaks the conscious majesty of a martyr's spirit: "Thus have I answered your conclusions, as I will stand unto, with God's help, unto the fire. And, after this, I am able to declare to the majesty of God, by his invaluable

BOOK I Word, that I die for the truth; for, I assure you, if I could
CHAP. I grant (yield) to the Queen's proceedings, and endure by the Word of God, I would rather live than die; but, seeing they are directly against God's Word, I will obey God more than man, and so—embrace the stake."

Dr. Nicholas
Ridley.

DR. NICHOLAS RIDLEY, cousin to Launcelot Ridley, was born at Willemontswick, in Northumberland. Having completed his early education in Newcastle-on-Tyne, he entered Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, at the time when Luther's attack on Indulgences was beginning to excite general attention throughout Europe. Besides acquiring the usual learning at Cambridge, he studied some time in the universities of Paris and Louvain.

Appointed
Chaplain to
Archbishop
Cranmer.

A few years after his return, he was appointed by Archbishop Cranmer to be one of his chaplains; and, in the year after, he obtained the vicarage of Herne, in Kent. There his preaching was so popular, that the people for miles round flocked to hear him. "The Six Articles" called from him a public testimony against them, though, being a single man, and still clinging to the doctrine of transubstantiation, he did not suffer the penalties of the act. Besides his vicarage of Herne, he held the mastership of Pembroke College, Cambridge, and a prebend in Canterbury Cathedral. During the leisure months of his residence at Herne, he studied, more fully than he had done before, the book of Bertram and other controversies respecting transubstantiation; he conferred with Cranmer, who, like himself, was feeling his way; he investigated the Scriptures; he read the remains of the earliest Christian Fathers; and he embraced the views of the English Reformers, by whose arguments and sufferings he was deeply impressed. At the accession of Edward, we find him preaching at Court; and, in a short time, he became Bishop of Rochester, and then of London, where he superseded Bonner. The death of the young King, which transferred the throne to Mary, restored Bonner to his bishopric; while Ridley was committed to the Tower, along with Latimer, Cranmer, and Bradford.

Master of
Pembroke
College,
Cambridge.

Appointed
Bishop of
London by
Edward VI.

Conferences
between Rid-
ley and Lati-
mer.

Dr. Ridley has left on record an interesting conversation between himself and Mr. Secretary Bourn and others, while he was a prisoner in the Tower. The "Conferences" between Ridley and Latimer are of the deepest interest, not only as

embodying the judgments of these learned and able men, but as exhibiting the principal grounds on which they were content rather to die than sacrifice what they believed to be the truth. Ridley's Lamentation for the Change of Religion in England, gives the most serious view that can be taken of the contrast between the reigns of Edward and of Mary. His account of the treatment he received from the commissioners at Oxford is an affecting illustration of the overbearing folly of persecutors in all times. His "Farewells" are among the noblest specimens of pathetic eloquence in any language. His Letters are rich in all the graces of a highly cultivated intellect, a gentle courtesy, and a lofty and glowing piety.

For eighteen months he was closely confined in the Tower. During his dreary imprisonment, most of his books were taken from him, and he was denied the use of pen and paper; but cutting lead from his prison windows, he wrote on the margin of the few books he had.* The details of his martyrdom are faithfully given by Fox. We cannot too often repeat the dying words of Latimer to his brother martyr, at whose feet a lighted fagot was at that moment cast:—"Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and *play the man*: we shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out."†

Imprisoned
in the Tower.

THOMAS CRANMER was born at Alsacton in Nottinghamshire, July 2, 1489. His father, Thomas Cranmer, Esq., belonged to an ancient family that came to England with William the Conqueror. The bishop's youth was spent under the tuition of a rude parish clerk, from whom he learned little; and under the training of his father, who accustomed him to hunting and hawking. He lost his father while he was a boy. His mother sent him, at fourteen years of age,

Cranmer.

Sent to Cambridge.

* Gilpin's Life of Ridley.

† Mr. Neale relates that "the very same day, Gardiner, their great persecutor, was struck with the illness of which he died; it was a suppression of urine, which held him in great agonies till the twelfth of November, when he expired. He would not sit down to dinner till he had received the news from Oxford of the burning of the two bishops, which was not till four of the clock in the afternoon; and while he was at dinner he was seized with the distemper that put an end to his life."—Hist. Pur. vol. i. p. 66.

This statement is apparently founded on that of Fox. I find by comparing Burnet, (ii. 320,) Heylin, (Hist. Ref. Q. Mary, vol. vii. p. 55,) Godwin, (De Praes. Ang.,) Collier, (ii. 386,) Lingard, (Note D,) that the story must be inaccurate. Godwin says that "Gardiner died of gout." He appeared twice in the House of Lords after the 19th. The old Duke of Norfolk, who, according to Fox's informant, was kept waiting by Gardiner for his dinner on the 16th of October, was buried on the 2d of October, in the previous year.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

to Cambridge, where he spent his time, till he was twenty-two, in the usual scholastic studies of the place, which he then abandoned for the reading of Faber, Erasmus, and other good Latin authors, in which he persevered for four or five years, until the stir made by the German Reformers induced him to study the Scriptures, and the best theological writings. While master of arts, and fellow of Jesus College, he married; but, his wife dying next year, the master and fellows of his college restored him to his fellowship. At thirty-four he became doctor of divinity. He refused to be one of the fellows in Wolsey's College at Oxford. Soon after he obtained his doctorate he was appointed one of the Cambridge examiners of candidates for degrees, in which office he made enemies among the friars by his rigid attention to the Scriptures: "it being a shame for a professor of divinity to be unskilled in the book wherein the knowledge of God, and the grounds of divinity, lay."*

Married.

Offered a fellowship by Cardinal Wolsey.

Introduced to Henry VIII.

Cranmer's introduction to King Henry VIII. was occasioned by the opinion he gave to Fox and Gardiner respecting the King's marriage with Catharine of Aragon, when he met them at Mr. Cressie's in Waltham Abbey—namely, that this was a question, not for courts and lawyers, but one to be settled by divines, out of the Scriptures. Two days after this interview, the bishops mentioned to the King, who was then at Greenwich, what Cranmer had said. The King sent for Cranmer, commanded him to put his thoughts in writing, and committed him to the family of Sir Thomas Boleyn, one of the most learned of the English nobles, a favourer of learned men, and father of the lady who became Henry's second Queen. "That she became a favourer, and, as much as she durst, a promoter of the purer religion, must, I think, in a great measure, be owing thereto."†

Wins the favour of the King

By Cranmer's zeal and success in bringing the University of Cambridge to the King's side, in the great question between his Majesty and the Pope, he commended himself to the nobility and to the King.‡ Being now the great court divine, he replied to Pole's book against the divorce of Catharine; and he went, for the King, into France, Italy, and Germany. During his abode in Germany, he became intimate

* Strype's Cranmer, p. 4.

† *Ib.* p. 7.‡ Lord Herbert's *Life of Henry VIII.*, p. 375.

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CHAP. I.

with Osiander, the eminent divine of Nüremberg, and married his niece, whom, however, he was obliged to send back, secretly, to her German friends, in 1539, the severe time of "the Six Articles." While Cranmer was absent on his embassy, Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, died. The King commanded Cranmer to hasten home. On his return, he was made Archbishop of Canterbury. In this high station he enjoyed, in conjunction with other bishops, the entire confidence of the King. He pronounced the sentence of Catharine's divorce. He performed, or according to Lord Herbert, "assisted at," the King's marriage to Anne Boleyn. He performed the ceremonies of that queen's coronation. He christened her daughter Elizabeth, and became her godfather.

Is made
Archbishop
of Canter-
bury.

The papal bulls for the consecration of Cranmer, one to the King, and sundry others to Cranmer himself, were the last instruments of that kind received in England during Henry's reign. The Archbishop surrendered these bulls to the King; desiring to acknowledge the King, not the Pope, as the giver of the ecclesiastical dignity. As he was required to take an oath of fidelity to the Pope, which he regarded as inconsistent with his allegiance to his sovereign, and with his duty to God, he made a *protestation*, suggested to him by the canonists and casuists, that "he took the oath as a *matter of form*, rather than of obligation; and that he intended not to bind himself to do anything contrary to the laws of God, the King's prerogatives, or the commonwealth and statutes of the kingdom; nor to tie himself up from speaking his mind freely in matters relating to the reformation of religion, the government of the Church of England, and the prerogative of the crown; and that, according to this interpretation and meaning only, would he take the oath, and not otherwise."* By this protest, Bishop Burnet observes, "if he did not wholly save his integrity, yet it was plain he intended no cheat, but to act fairly and above board."† Mr. Hallam calls this "a disingenuous shift," and remarks upon it: "The question is, whether, having obtained the bulls from Rome, on an express stipulation that he should take a certain oath, he had a right to offer a

Papal Bulls.

His Protest.

Hallam's re-
marks on the
protest.

* Strype's Appendix to Life of Cranmer, No. V.

† Burnet's History of the Reformation, Book II. p. 129.

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limitation, not explanatory, but utterly inconsistent with it. We are sure that Cranmer's views and intentions, which he very soon carried into effect, were irreconcilable with any sort of obedience; and if, under all the circumstances, his conduct were justifiable, there would be an end of all promissory obligation whatever."*

The Pope's
supremacy
abolished.

The Convoca-
tion petition
for the Trans-
lation of the
Scriptures.

Letter to
Cromwell on
behalf of
Fisher and
More.

Religious
Reform.

In the disputes in Parliament respecting the Pope's supremacy, it was mainly through the arguments of Cranmer that the Parliament consented to its abolition. The King's supremacy being settled in the next session of Parliament, 1534, the Archbishop thought this a meet time to restore the true doctrine of Christ, according to the Word of God and the primitive church. He induced the convocation to petition the King that the Scriptures should be translated into the vulgar tongue by some honest and learned men, to be nominated by the King, and to be delivered unto the people according to their learning. He likewise obtained the signatures of the clergy to an instrument for abolishing the Pope's supremacy, and for acknowledging that of the King. He was, also, actively engaged in administering the oath of the succession, (substituting Queen Anne for Queen Catharine, and their heirs, respectively,) which all persons were required by Parliament to swear, upon pain of treason.—It was for refusing this oath, or rather the preamble, that Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More were condemned and executed. In the Cotton Library there is a letter from Cranmer to Lord Cromwell, urging that Fisher and More should be permitted to take the oath without the preamble. The King, however, was too much irritated in a point that touched him so sorely as the divorce of Catharine; and the Bishop, "almost the only inflexibly honest churchman of that age," and the Chancellor, "whose name can ask no epithet," lost their heads.†

The measures pursued by Cranmer for bettering the state of religion in the nation were various. He expounded throughout his diocese the reasons for abolishing the supremacy of the Pope. He resolved on a visitation of the bishops and cathedrals. On sending advice of his intention to Gardiner, of Winchester, that Bishop stoutly refused. The example was followed by Stokesly, Bishop of London. This

* Const. Hist. I. 106.

† Hallam.

same Stokesly was one of the ten learned men appointed by Cranmer to translate the New Testament. On the day fixed for the return of their parts to Lambeth, Stokesly's part, which was "The Acts of the Apostles," was wanting. The Archbishop dispatched his secretary to Fulham for the book. He returned for answer:—"I marvel what my Lord of Canterbury meaneth, that thus abuseth the people, in giving them liberty to read the Scriptures, which doth nothing else but infect them with heresy. I have bestowed never an hour upon my portion, nor never will; and therefore my Lord shall have this book again, for I will never be guilty of bringing the simple people into error." When Cranmer received this answer, he said:—"I marvel that my Lord of London is so froward, that he will not do as other men do."*

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

The translation of the New Testament.

Bishop Stokesly's Refusal.

The visiting and suppressing of monasteries was encouraged by Cranmer, in the hope that, besides putting an end to much superstition and wickedness, the revenues might be appropriated to the support of additional bishoprics and new seats of learning.†

The *articles of religion*, devised, as Lord Herbert says, by the King, and recommended to the convocation by Lord Cromwell, bear evident traces of Cranmer's pen. These articles are given at length by Bishop Burnet, in his "History of the Reformation," and by Fuller, in his Church History. We find, indeed, many popish errors here, mixed with evangelical truths, "which," says Strype, "must either be attributed to the defectiveness of our prelates' knowledge, as yet, in true religion, or being the principles and opinions of the King, or both. Let not any be offended herewith; but let him rather take notice what a great deal of gospel doctrine here came to light; and not only so, but was owned and propounded by authority, to be believed and practised. *The sun of truth was now but rising and breaking through the thick mists of that idolatry, superstition, and ignorance, that had so long prevailed in this nation, and the rest of the world, and was not yet attained to its meridian brightness.*"‡

Within four years of Henry's marriage with Anne Boleyn,

* Strype's Life of Cranmer, B. XI.

† Strype's Life of Cranmer, Book I. c. 8. Suppression of the Monasteries.

‡ Life of Cranmer, chap. 4.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

Divorce of
Anne Boleyn.

the mother of Queen Elizabeth, the King's jealousy—combined with his disappointment in not having a male heir, and his attachment for Lady Jane Seymour—brought her to the block. Though Cranmer had been strongly attached to the Queen and her family, from the time of his introduction to her by his royal master, and though he had derived great aid from her influence with the King in the work of reformation, he could not save her life. He wrote, as strongly as he durst, on her behalf; but he was required, by the King's authority, and the Queen's own (extorted) confession, to pronounce a divorce by due order and process of law.

The Institu-
tion of a
Christian
Man.

In the following year, he was joined by Lord Cromwell and other friends in obtaining from the King a commission, consisting of himself, Gardiner, Stokesly, Latimer, Fox, and other bishops, for drawing up a book, entitled "The godly and pious Institution of a Christian Man," altered, two years after, into "A necessary Doctrine and Erudition of any Christian Man." It was generally called the Bishops' book, or the King's book, and was issued by authority of Parliament. It was published in 1543, with some alterations, but retaining the doctrine of the corporal presence in the sacrament.

The English
Bible.

The most interesting act of Cranmer's life was the presentation of the Bible in the English tongue, set forth by the King's most gracious license. "It was wonderful to see with what joy this book of God was received, not only among the learned sort, and those that were noted for lovers of the Reformation, but generally all England over, among all the vulgar and common people; and with what greediness God's Word was read, and what resort to places where the reading of it was. Everybody who could, bought the book, or busily read it, or got others to read it to them, if they could not themselves; and divers more elderly people learned to read on purpose. And even little boys flocked, among the rest, to hear portions of the Holy Scripture read. One William Maldon, happening to be in the company of John Fox, in the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and Fox being very inquisitive after those that suffered for religion in the former times, asked him if he knew any that were persecuted for the gospel of Christ, that he might add to his Book of Martyrs; he told him one that was whipped

BOOK I.
CHAP. I.

wrote out all the circumstances,—namely, that when the King had allowed the Bible to be set forth to be read in all churches; immediately several poor men in the town of Chelmsford in Essex, where his father lived, and he was born, bought the New Testament, and, on Sundays, sat reading of it in the tower end of the church; many would flock about them to hear their reading, and he among the rest, being then but fifteen years old, came every Sunday to hear the glad and sweet tidings of the gospel. But his father observing it, once fetched him angrily away, and would have him say the Latin matins with him, which grieved him much. And as he returned at other times to hear the Scripture read, his father still would fetch him away. This put him upon the thought of learning to read English, that so he might read the New Testament himself; which, when he had by diligence effected, he and his father's apprentice bought the New Testament, joining their stocks together; and, to conceal it, laid it under the bed-straw, and read it at convenient times. One night, his father being asleep, he and his mother chanced to discourse concerning the crucifix, and kneeling down to it, and knocking on the breast, as they used, and holding up the hands to it when it came by in procession. This he told his mother was plain idolatry, and against the commandment of God, where he saith, *'Thou shalt not make any graven image, nor bow down to it, nor worship it.'* His mother, enraged at him for this, said, *'Wilt thou not worship the cross that was about thee when thou wert christened, and must be laid on thee when thou art dead?'* In this heat the mother and son departed, and went to their beds. The sum of this evening's conference she presently repeats to her husband, which he, impatient to hear, and boiling in fury against his son for denying worship to be due to the cross, arose up forthwith, and goes into his son's chamber, and, like a mad zealot, taking him by the hair of his head, pulled him out of bed, and whipped him unmercifully. And when the young man bore his beating, as he related, with a kind of joy, considering it was for Christ's sake, and shed not a tear, his father, seeing that, was more enraged, and ran down, and fetched an halter, and put it about his neck, saying he would hang him. At length, with much entreaty of the mother and brother,

The popular
reception of
the Scrip-
tures.

Intolerance.

BOOK I. he left him almost dead.' I extract this out of the original
 CHAP. I. relation of the person himself, wrote at Newington, near
 London, where he afterwards dwelt: which relation he gave
 to John Fox."*

Cranmer's
 Intolerance.

In the same year in which this Bible was given to the people, Cranmer was unhappily, and we must say disgracefully, concerned in the death of John Nicholson, the friend of Tindal and Frith, who took the name of Lambert to avoid the persecutions of the bishops. He had been minister to the English embassy at Antwerp, but dismissed, by order of Sir Thomas More, because of his adoption of the views of Bilney and the Reformers. On his return to England, he was apprehended by the officers of Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, but set at liberty on Cranmer's accession to that dignity. He kept a school in London under his assumed name of Lambert. Hearing Dr. Taylor, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, preach on behalf of the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament, he came to him, declared his dissent from the doctrine, and drew up his objections in ten arguments. This paper Taylor showed to Dr. Barnes, of whose martyrdom we have given an account. Barnes, who held the Lutheran doctrine of the sacrament, accompanied Taylor, with the paper, to Cranmer and Latimer. Nicholson was brought before these bishops, who endeavoured to persuade him to retract what he had written. But he appealed to the King. The King, urged by Gardiner, and not sorry to show off his theological learning, and his zeal as the head of the English Church, summoned his bishops and nobles, the judges, the King's counsel, to assemble in Westminster hall, where scaffolds were erected for the assembly, and an incredible concourse of spectators.

John Nicholson's apprehension.

Brought to
 Trial before
 the King.

By the King's order, Sampson, (not Day, as Fox says, for he was not then a bishop,†) Bishop of Chichester, was commanded to open the trial.‡ The Bishop of Chichester declared that they were assembled, not to dispute any point of faith, but to confute and condemn this man's heresy. The King then commanded Nicholson to declare his opinion of the sacrament; when he began by acknowledging his

* Strype's Life of Cranmer, chap. XVII.

† Strype's Life of Cranmer, B. I. c. 17.

‡ Burnet, i. 252. Collier, ii. 151.

Majesty's goodness, and praising his great judgment and learning; the King interrupted him, telling him, in Latin, that he came not there to hear his own praises, and bade him proceed to the question. The prisoner, being daunted by his interruption and the stern look with which it was given, was then asked by the King:—"Is Christ's body in the sacrament or not?" Nicholson answered in the words of Augustine, "It is his body in a certain manner." The King then bade him answer plainly, whether it was Christ's body or not: so he answered, "It is not his body." The King urged him with the words of Scripture, "This is my body," and commanded Cranmer to confute his opinion. The archbishop confined his reply to the refutation of Nicholson's argument—that a body cannot be in two places at once. Tonsal, Bishop of Durham, argued from the omnipotence of God. Stokesly, Bishop of London, introduced the fallacy of comparing transubstantiation to the change of water into vapour, while moisture—the accident—remains. Thus, by the stern looks of the King,* the imposing character of the audience, the belabouring of the bishops, one after another, this "meek confessor of Christ"† was run down like a stag by hunters, and wearied, rather than confuted; and victory was declared on the King's side by the general applause of the assembly. At the close of this long debate the King asked him if he was satisfied, and whether he was resolved to live or die. "I commit my soul to God," said the reformer, "and submit my body to the King's clemency." The King told him: "If you do not recant, you must die; for I will be no patron of heretics." The Lord Cromwell read the sentence, declaring him to be an incorrigible heretic, and condemned him to be burned.

Condemned
to the stake.

Let it not be supposed that Cromwell merely acted as a courtier, who would not dispute the commands of a prince so arbitrary and resolute as Henry. The following letter shows that he read the sentence without regret. The letter was written Nov. 28, 1538, to Sir Thomas Wyat, Henry's ambassador in Germany.

"The King's Majesty, for the reverence of the holy sacrament of the altar, did sit openly in his hall, and there pre-

Letter of
Cromwell.

* Dr. Lingard gives a somewhat different account of the King's demeanour.

† Strype's Cranmer, p. 49.

BOOK I.
CHAP. I.

sided at the disputation, process, and judgment, of a miserable heretic sacramentary, who was burned the 20th November. It was a wonder to see how princely, with how excellent gravity and inestimable majesty, his Highness exercised there the very office of the head of the Church of England. How benignly his Grace essayed to convert the miserable man, how strong and manifest reasons his Highness alleged against him. I wish the princes and potentates of Christendom to have had a meet place to have seen it. Undoubtedly they should have much marvelled at his Majesty's high wisdom and judgment, and reputed him no otherwise, after the same, than, in manner, the mirror and light of all other kings and princes in Christendom. The same was openly done with great solemnity, whereby I doubt not but some of your friends that have good leisure shall, by their letters, advertise you of the discourse thereof.*

Martyrdom
of John
Nicholson.

The execution of Nicholson took place at Smithfield, in the most barbarous manner. When his legs and thighs were burned to the stumps, there not being fire enough to consume the rest of him, suddenly two of the officers raised up his body on their halberts, he being yet alive, and crying out, "*None but Christ! None but Christ!*" then they let him down into the fire, where he was quickly consumed to ashes.†

Cranmer was still a "strong stickler for the carnal presence" in the sacrament, from his veneration for the ancient doctors of the Church; and he never abandoned this opinion till his conferences with Ridley, already mentioned, in 1546.

The King issued a proclamation, in 1538, against the marriage of priests: but, that its penalties might not bear on the archbishop, who, as we have seen, had married the niece of Osiander, at Nuremberg, they were limited to such as kept their wives *openly*, and such as married *after* the proclamation *without* the common consent of his Highness and his realm.

Celibacy of
the priests
enforced.

Accusation of
Cranmer by
the Bishops.

The King's displeasure with Cranmer and the other bishops of *the new* learning, as expressed in the Act of Six Articles, will come under review in the progress of this history. Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, Cranmer's implacable enemy, aided by London,—whom Archbishop Parker calls "a stout

* Harleian Library. Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 182.
† Fox, vol. ii.

and filthy prebendary of Windsor,"* got up an accusation against Cranmer for violating the Act of the Six Articles. The papers being sent to the King, he put them into his sleeve, and passing one evening in his barge by Lambeth bridge, the archbishop standing in the stairs to do his duty to his Majesty, he called him into the barge to him, and accosting him with these words, "O my chaplain, now I know who is the greatest heretic in Kent," gave him the papers to read. The King then empowered the Archbishop to sift the matter. The conspirators were detected, imprisoned, but, on their confession, pardoned and released.

Cranmer had scarcely escaped this snare when he was accused of *heresy* before the Parliament, and again rescued by the King. But he was brought to more imminent peril by a similar accusation from the Privy Council, who prayed the King that the Archbishop might be committed to the Tower, and examined. The King could scarcely deny this prayer; but that same night he summoned Cranmer from his bed at Lambeth, to attend him at Whitehall, where he advised him to demand that his accusers should meet him face to face; "but," added the King, "if they refuse this, and will needs commit you to the Tower, then appeal you from them to our person, and give to them this my ring, by the which they shall well understand that I have taken your cause into my hand from them."

Accusations
by the Par-
liament and
Privy Coun-
cil.

Next morning by eight o'clock Cranmer was sent for to the Council, and was there insulted by being kept standing outside the door for three quarters of an hour. His secretary slipped away to Dr. Butts, the King's physician, and told him this. Butts, when he had come and seen it, went forthwith to the King, saying, "I have seen a strange sight." "What is that?" said the King. "Marry!" said he, "my Lord of Canterbury is become a lacquey, or a serving man, for, to my certain knowledge, he hath stood among them this hour almost, at the council-chamber door." "Have they served my Lord so?" said the King; "it is well enough; I shall talk with them by and by." When Cranmer was admitted, he found them bent on sending him to the Tower. "I am sorry, my Lords, that you drive me to this exigent,"

Henry's In-
terference

* In a memorandum written with his own hand in a book in the Benet (Corpus Christi) College Library, entitled, *Accusatio Cranmeri*.

BOOK I.
CHAP. I.

The King's
favour for
Cranmer

said Cranmer, "to appeal from you to the King's Majesty, who, *by this token*, hath resumed this matter into his own hand, and dischargeth you thereof," delivering the King's ring to them. The Lord Russell swore a great oath, and said, "Did I not tell you, my Lords, what would come of this matter? I knew right well that the King would never permit my Lord of Canterbury to have such a blemish as to be imprisoned, unless it were for high treason." The Council immediately went to the King's presence. He rebuked them severely. "I would you should understand," he added, "that I account my Lord of Canterbury as faithful a man towards me as ever was prelate in this realm, and one to whom I am many ways beholden, by the faith I have in God," laying his hand upon his heart; "and, therefore, who loveth me well, upon that account regard him." The King departed: all the Lords of the Council shook hands with the archbishop, "against whom never more after durst any man spurn, during King Harry's life."*

In the last two years of Henry's life Gardiner and his party acquired growing influence at Court, as we may learn from the lamentations of Bishop Bale. Many Reformers were put to death.

Notwithstanding this opposing influence, Cranmer laid himself out for the reform of the canon law, which he found not only wearisome, because of the number and irregularity of its requirements, but abounding with the most extravagant operations of the power of the Pope. A collection of passages of this latter description, which Cranmer made, is printed by Bishop Burnet, from one of Dr. Stillingfleet's manuscripts.†

Canon Law.

According to these canonical laws, he who denies the divine primacy of the Bishop of Rome, is not of the flock of Christ, and cannot be saved:—the laws of princes, if they be against the canons and decrees of the Bishop of Rome, are of no force:—whoever receiveth not these canons and decrees as the word of God, spoken by the mouth of Peter, blasphemeth the Holy Ghost, and shall have no forgiveness:—the see of Rome hath neither spot nor wrinkle, and cannot err:—it is not lawful for any man to dispute the Pope's power:—he is no manslayer who slayeth a man that

* Strype's Life of Cranmer, p. 181.

† Hist. Ref. P. I. p. 257

is excommunicate:—a penitent person can have no remission of sins, but by supplication of the priests.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

The reform of these laws was brought to what Strype calls “that good perfection, that they wanted nothing but the confirmation of the King;” but the King’s days being ended without that act, the work was left to be finished in the following reign.

Reform of the Canon Law.

In the last year of Henry’s life Cranmer took the opportunity of Gardiner’s absence, on an embassy to Charles V., Emperor of Germany, to bring the King in remembrance of several abuses in religion which had been retained. Though absent, Gardiner was informed of these proceedings; and, by representing to the King that such innovations would prevent the league which he was sent to form with the Emperor, prevented their success.

Cranmer urges on the King fresh reforms.

Gardiner interferes.

Cranmer did succeed so far as to induce the King to abolish the use of images, and the practice of creeping to the cross.

The last public act in which Cranmer was concerned with Henry, was the drawing up of a form for altering the mass into a communion. He visited the King on his death-bed, and found the dying monarch speechless, but not void of sense; for he took Cranmer by the hand, which he wrung hard, in token that he put his trust in God, through Jesus Christ, as the archbishop had advised him.*

Death-bed of Henry VIII.

On the accession of the young King, Edward VI., Cranmer petitioned that, his authority as archbishop having ended with the life of Henry, it would please the present King to commit that power to him again. This petition granted, Edward was crowned by Cranmer, in Westminster Abbey; when, instead of a sermon, which had been usual on such occasions, the archbishop addressed his Majesty in a speech, preserved in the collections of Archbishop Usher. It ended with these words: “The Almighty God, of His mercy, let the light of His countenance shine upon your Majesty, grant you a prosperous and happy reign, defend you and save you; and let your subjects say, Amen. God save the King.”

Edward VI.

By Cranmer’s suggestion the homilies, which had been laid aside, together with Erasmus’s Paraphrase upon the New

* It should be known that the accounts of King Henry’s death by different historians are so contradictory, that it is difficult, perhaps impossible, to get at the exact truth.

BOOK I. Testament, were ordered to be read in all churches. He
 CHAP. I. also obtained the repeal of the Six Articles, and the use of
 the communion in both kinds; and the forbidding of super-
 stitious processions. He published a catechism for the
 young; a confutation of unwritten verities, proving, from
 Scripture and the ancient fathers, that the Bible is a true,
 sound, and perfect doctrine, containing all things necessary
 to salvation. He also rectified abuses in the universities,
 and gave considerable aid to Ascham, in bringing about a
 most desirable improvement in the studies pursued at Cam-
 bridge. He displayed great mildness towards such of the
 clergy as adhered to the old system; while he encouraged
 earnest and faithful preachers in setting forth the evangelical
 doctrine, and confuting the errors and superstitions that
 remained among both clergy and people.

Cranmer's
 toleration
 and zeal.

Religious
 Rebellions

When a rebellion broke out in Devonshire, Norfolk, York-
 shire, and other places, on account of the enclosure of com-
 mons, and the laying aside of the old religion, Cranmer
 drew up an answer to the articles of the insurgents, and
 caused sermons to be preached in all the churches, to the
 same effect, and also a prayer to be used on the occasion.
 In the same year, Bonner was deprived of his bishopric, for
 contempt of the King's order, after a long controversy with
 Cranmer, respecting a book which the archbishop had pub-
 lished. When Somerset, the Protector during the King's
 minority, and his uncle, were brought into trouble, Cranmer
 interposed, though in vain, to save him from his enemies.

Continental
 Exiles enter-
 tained.

It was at this time, when the papal party were increasing
 in power, that Cranmer obtained, first from the Privy Council,
 and then from Parliament, the Confirmation of the Book of
 Common Prayer in English. The archbishop was then en-
 tertaining at his house several eminent foreigners, some of
 whom were exiles for religion. Among these were, Bucer,
 Peter Martyr, Fagius, and Ochin. Bucer was appointed
 divinity professor, and Fagius professor of Hebrew, at Cam-
 bridge. Fagius soon died. Bucer distinguished himself by
 his disputations at Cambridge. To counteract the supersti-
 tions still practised both in London and in the country,
 Cranmer encouraged the dispersion of Bale's writings, and
 other Protestant books, both English and foreign, and the

preaching of sermons against Lent: though, on political grounds, the observance was still kept up.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

Further alterations were made in the Prayer-book. Hooper was committed to the archbishop's charge, for not wearing the vestments appointed for bishops; and, the archbishop not succeeding in persuading him to conform, he was sent to the Fleet. But, afterwards, he partially conformed, and was consecrated Bishop of Gloucester. In the same year, Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, after being sequestered for three months, was deprived of his bishopric, for having used himself irreverently to the King's Majesty, and slanderfully towards his council.* From the council-book of this year, it appears that the disgrace of Somerset, and other changes, emboldened the papal party to publish libels and ballads against the archbishop, the clergy, the English Bible and Prayer-book; and to preach openly against the Reformation.

Hooper arrested.

The archbishop, while active in opposing these enemies of the Reformation, encouraged the forming of Dutch, Italian, Spanish, and French Protestant churches. In the following year he published his "Book of the Sacrament," which was answered by Gardiner, and vindicated in a second book by Cranmer. Gardiner rejoined in a second book, in Latin, under the feigned name of *Marcus Antonius Constantius*, to which Cranmer was writing an answer, which he did not live to finish, in his prison. The state of religion in England at this time may be gathered from the preface of a work, set forth by Becon, one of Cranmer's chaplains.

Book on the Sacrament, answered by Gardiner.

"What a number of fals Christians lyve there at this present day, unto the exceedynge dishonour of the Christen profession, which with theyr mouth confess that they know God, but with theyr dedes they utterly denye Hym, and are abhominable, disobedient to the Word of God, and utterlye estranged from al good works! What a swarm of gross gospellers have we also amongst us, which can prattle of the gospel very fynely, talk much of the justification of faith, crake very stoutly of the free remissyon of all theyr syns

The state of Religion; Becon's preface.

* Council-book, quoted in Strype's Life of Cranmer, p. 522.

BOOK I.
CHAP. I.

by Christ's blood, avaunce themselves to be of the number of those which are predestinate unto eternal life. But how far do theyr life differ from true Christianity! They are puffed up with al kynd of pride; they swel with al kynd of envy, malice, hatred, and enmity against theyr neighbour; they brenne (burn) with unquenchable lusts of carnal concupiscense; they walow and tumble in al kynd of beastly pleasures; theyr greedy, covetous effects (affections) are insatiable; the enlarging of their lordshipps, the increasing of theyr substance, the scraping together of theyr worldly possessions, infynite, and knoweth no end. In fyne, all theyr endeavours tend unto thys end, to shew themselves very ethyncks, (heathens) and utterly estranged from God in theyr conversation, although in words they otherwise pretend. As for theyr alms-dedes, theyr praying, theyr watching, theyr fasting, and such other godly exercises of the spirit, they are utterly banished from these rude and gross gospellers. All theyr religion consisteth in words and disputations; in Christen acts and godly dedes, nothing at all."*

In 1553, Cranmer obtained letters from King Edward, to secure the subscription of the clergy to the Book of Articles, and to require the use of a Latin catechism in schools.

Close of Edward's reign.

The last thing recorded of Cranmer in Edward's reign, is his refusal to comply with the new settlement of the crown on the Lady Jane Grey, daughter of the Duke of Suffolk, and wife of Lord Guildford Dudley, son of the Duke of Northumberland. In this refusal he persisted, arguing strongly against it, till the King himself overcame his reluctance by saying, "I hope you alone will not stand out, and be more repugnant to my will than all the rest of the council."

After the King's death, he was one of the counsellors of the unfortunate Queen Jane, who reigned only eleven days,—his name appearing, with that of several nobles, to a document sent to Mary, declaring her illegitimate and unherit-

* Preface to the Jewel of Joy, by Thomas Becon. Becon's works, in three volumes folio, were published by himself, and dedicated to the archbishops and bishops of the realm in 1564, the year in which he was deprived of his living, with other *Puritans*, by Archbishop Parker, the first *Protestant* primate in Elizabeth's reign. Strype speaks of Becon as mightily tossed about, as famous for his great learning and frequent preaching, and manifold sufferings, under four successive reigns of reforming monarchs. Strype's Life of Cranmer, p. 602.

able, and calling upon her to recognise as sovereign, the Lady Queen Jane.*

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

When Mary ascended the throne it was reported that Cranmer had offered to say the mass and requiem at the burial of King Edward, before the Queen, and that he had restored the mass at Canterbury; which report induced him to publish a declaration to the contrary. Some copies of this declaration falling into the hands of certain bishops who laid it before the Council, Cranmer was called before the Queen's Commissioners, and severely reprimanded for sundry parts of that declaration; and, soon after this, committed to the Tower, partly for the hand he had taken in Lady Jane's succession, and partly for openly justifying the reforming proceedings of the late King. His imprisonment was soon followed by a general deprivation of the Protestant bishops and clergy, of whom not a few were cast into prison; as Strype quaintly expresses it, "they came into the Marshalsea, thick and threefold, for religion, sent thither by Gardiner." Peter Martyr, who had been allowed to escape to Germany, gives this account of the state of things in a letter to Calvin:—"Although the infirmity of some betrayed them, yet great was the constancy of far more than I could have thought; so that, I doubt not, England will have many famous martyrs, if Winchester, (Gardiner) who now does all, begins to rage according to his will." In another letter to a friend, he says, "I had many scholars in England, students in divinity not to be ashamed of, whose harvest was almost ripe, whom I have been forced to see, either wandering about in uncertain stations, or remaining at home, unhappily subverted. There are in that kingdom many holy as well as learned bishops, that are now in hard confinement, and soon to be dragged to the extremest punishments, as if they were robbers. Here is the foundation of the gospel, and of a noble church, laid; and, by the labours of some years, the holy building had well gone forward, and, daily, better things were hoped for; but, unless God from above come to the succour of it, I think there will not be a footstep of godliness left at last, as to the outward profession."†

Accession of
Queen Mary.Cranmer
committed to
the Tower.

Gardiner, advanced from being a prisoner in the Tower

Gardiner
created Lord
Chancellor.

* Heylin, 158. Nicholas, 50. App.

† P. Martyr's Epistles.

BOOK I. to be Lord Chancellor of England, ruled both Parliament
 CHAP. I. and people.* From the proclamation of pardon at the
 Queen's coronation the Protestants were omitted. The
 Protestants that were at liberty were urged by Cranmer to
 flee from the rising storm of persecution, though he himself
 resolved to remain at his post.† Cranmer sued for pardon
 of the treason of which he, together with Lady Jane Grey,
 Guildford her husband, and others, was accused by Parlia-
 ment, and with great difficulty he at last obtained it;
 but the Queen, being resolved on his death for the part he
 had taken in her mother's divorce, and Gardiner and the
 Council being equally bent on his destruction, he was called
 before a commission from the convocation at Oxford, along
 with Ridley and Latimer, to dispute certain points of reli-
 gion. The convocation met with all the pomp of the re-
 stored religion,—the celebration of masses, and processions.
 Coming before them, Cranmer gave them great reverence,
 and stood with his staff in his hand. They offered him a
 stool to sit, but he refused. The prolocutor, Weston, opened
 the charges against him, and requiring his answer. Cran-
 mer replied to the general question relating to the unity of
 the Church, read the articles over three or four times, and,
 being asked whether he would subscribe to them, he an-
 swered:—"In the form of words in which they are con-
 ceived, they are all false, and against God's Word, and there-
 fore I cannot agree in this unity with you. Nevertheless,
 if you will give me a copy of the articles, and time to con-
 sider them, I will by to-morrow send an answer." The
 prolocutor granted his request, desiring him to write his
 judgment of the articles that night: agreeing with him,
 that if he dissented from them in any respect, they should
 hold a public disputation on them in Latin, and promising
 him whatever books he might ask for.

Cranmer,
 Ridley, and
 Latimer at
 Oxford.

Cranmer's
 reply.

On Monday Cranmer produced his written answer, bringing
 with him two notaries, to take notes of what he said. Jewel,
 afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, and Mownton, disputed for

* See Lord Campbell's *Lives of the Lord Chancellors*, vol. ii.

† Strype, (in his *Life of Cranmer*, 449,) gives a list of five bishops, five deans,
 four archdeacons, and about sixty doctors of divinity and preachers, besides
 of noblemen, merchants, tradesmen, artificers, and plebeians, many hundreds,
 who escaped to Strasburg, Wesel, Embden, Antwerp, Worms, Frankfort, Basle,
 Zurich, Geneva, and other places, and "great was the favour that the strangers
 showed to *their fugitive guests*."

six hours; demanded more time for going through all the points in dispute, and also permission to oppose the doctrines of the Romanists, as well as respond to their questions; but these demands were not complied with.

BOOK I.
CHAP. I.

Two days after the disputation Cranmer was condemned as a heretic. "From this your judgment," he said, when he heard his sentence, "I appeal to the just judgment of the Almighty, trusting to be present with him in heaven, for whose presence in the altar I am thus condemned." In his prison he occupied himself with writing his last reply to Gardiner on the Sacrament. His archbishopric was given to Cardinal Pole. Some of the exiles abroad petitioned the Queen, reminding her how Cranmer had once preserved her life in her father's time, by his earnest intercessions with the King in her behalf. From his prison window he saw Ridley and Latimer brought forth to the stake; and, looking after them, he devoutly fell upon his knees, praying to God to strengthen their faith and patience in that their last, but painful passage. Besides writing, his time during his confinement in the Bocardo, a city prison of Oxford, he was much engaged in discourses with learned men of the opposite persuasion, who laboured to bring him over to their doctrines.

Condemned
as a heretic

The Pope's authority being now restored in England, a commission was sent from Rome for the conviction of Cranmer. In obedience to the papal decree, Cranmer was brought out of prison, habited in a plain black gown, and his badge of doctor of divinity on both shoulders. He rendered due honour to the Queen's commissioners, but none to the representative of the Pope. After answering certain questions, he was cited to appear at Rome within eighty days, to make his answer to the Pope in person; which he said he was contented to do if the King and Queen would send him. But he was remanded to prison, and the account of the proceedings was sent to the Pope, who returned his "letters executory" to the King and Queen, and to the Bishops of Ely and London, to degrade and deprive him. At the end of the eighty days, (he being kept in prison,) he was declared a contumacious heretic. On a fixed day, the Pope's delegates came to Oxford to execute the sentence. They

Cited to ap-
pear at Rome.

His degrada-
tion.

appareled Cranmer in all the garments and ornaments of

BOOK I.
CHAP. I.Bonner's
triumph.His letters to
the Queen.

an archbishop; only, in mockery, every thing was of canvass, and old clouts; and the crosier was put into his hand. Then he was, piece by piece, stripped of all again. When they began to take away his pall, he asked them, "Which of you has a pall, to take away my pall? They answered, acknowledging they were his inferiors as bishops; but as they were the Pope's delegates, they might take away his pall. While they were thus stripping him of his garments, he told them that it needed not, for that *he had done with this gear long ago.*" While this was doing, Bonner made a triumphant speech against the poor archbishop. But when they came to take away his crosier, he held it fast, and would not deliver it, but pulled out an appeal from under his left sleeve, under his wrist, and said, "I appeal unto the next General Council; and herein I have comprehended my cause, and the form of it, which I desire may be admitted;" and he prayed divers times to the standers-by to be witnesses, naming them by their names.* The Bishop of Ely told him that they were commissioned to proceed against him "*without appeal.*" They proceeded in the degradation, at the end of which Bonner said to him, "You are now no more a lord!" He had been denied the use of proctors, advocates, and lawyers, though he was tried for his life. The commissioners had broken their promise to let him correct his answers to the sixteen articles they had brought against him. These were partly his reasons for appealing to a General Council. He seems also to have been influenced by the example of Luther in a similar case. He had further inducements in the fact, that he was bound by his oath never to acknowledge the Pope's authority in this realm; and, in the conviction that the Bishop of Rome was not an impartial judge in this cause, since he was himself the interested party. But, probably, his principal reason was to gain time, as he was eager to finish his last reply to Gardiner. After his return to prison, he wrote two letters to the Queen, in which he stated his reasons for refusing the Pope's delegate as his judge, and entered at length into the constitutional question of the supremacy of the independent kingdom of England, and into the religious objections to the authority of the

• This appeal is given at length by Fox, in his Acts and Monuments.

Pope, as opposed to the laws of God. These letters were answered at some length by Cardinal Pole.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

Nothing could bring more credit and strength to the papal party in England, and indeed throughout Europe, than the recovery of this eminent man to the Church of Rome. The doctors of the universities plied him with arguments, persuasions, kindnesses, flatteries, promises, and threatenings. They represented to him that the nobles of England had no ill feeling towards him; that the Queen would be glad of his restoration to his former dignity; or, if he liked it better, he might retire in quietude to the enjoyment of a private life. In an evil hour he yielded to these tempters and *recanted*, signing the recantation with his own hand, attested by witnesses. The recantation was quickly printed and dispersed. The Queen rejoiced in it; but she had made up her mind that he should be burned. As soon as Cranmer perceived, by the manner of Dr. Cole, who visited him in prison, what was likely to be his fate, he prepared a prayer and a declaration of his faith, in writing, to make use of at the proper time. Cranmer's behaviour in St. Mary's church, the manner of his execution, his thrusting his right hand into the flames, and other particulars of his martyrdom, are universally known by the popular extracts from Fox's "Acts and Monuments." Strype has given a touching relation of this tragedy in the words of "a certain grave person unknown, but a papist," who was an eye and an ear-witness, and related these matters and scenes very justly, in a letter from Oxford to his friends.*

Efforts to
procure his
recantation.

He yields.

From this long letter the following extracts may suffice. After describing Cranmer's previous conduct, and repeating his prayer, and his exhortation to the people, he then gives the closing sentences of his address:—"And now, for so much as I am come to the last end of my life, whereupon hangeth all my life passed, and my life to come, either to live with my Saviour Christ in heaven in joy, or else to be in pain ever with wicked devils in hell; and I see before mine eyes presently either heaven ready to receive me, or hell ready to swallow me up; I shall, therefore, declare

His martyr-
dom.

* Strype's Life of Cranmer, B. III. c. 21. Sir James Mackintosh calls this authentic and picturesque narrative "perhaps the most beautiful specimen of ancient English" Hist. of England, vol. ii. 326.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

His repent-
ance.

unto you my very faith, how I believe, without colour or dissimulation, for now is no time to dissemble, whatsoever I have written in times past. First, I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, &c., and every article of the Catholic faith; every word and sentence taught by our Saviour Christ, his apostles, and prophets, in the Old and New Testaments. And now I come to the great thing that troubleth my conscience more than any other thing that ever I said or did in my life—and that is, the setting abroad of writings contrary to the truth; which here I now renounce and refuse, as things written with my hand, contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and writ *for fear of death*, and to save my life, if it might be; and that is all such bills which I have written or subscribed with my mine own hand since my degradation, wherein I have written many things untrue. And, forasmuch as my hand offendeth in writing contrary to my heart, therefore my hand shall first be punished; for if I may come to the fire it may be first burned; and as for the Pope, I refuse him, as Christ's enemy and antichrist, with all his false doctrine." And here being admonished of his recantation and dissembling, he said, "Alas, my lord, I have been a man that all my life loved plainness, and never dissembled till now against the truth, which I am most sorry for." He added hereunto, that for the Sacrament, he believed as he had taught in his book against the Bishop of Winchester. And here he was suffered to speak no more. Coming to the stake with a cheerful countenance and willing mind, he put off his garment in haste, and stood up in his shirt: and a bachelor of divinity, named Ely, of Brazenose College, laboured to convert him to his former recantation, with the two Spanish friars. But when the friars saw his constancy, they said in Latin one to another, "Let us go from him, we ought not to be nigh him, for the devil is with him." But the bachelor of divinity was more earnest with him; unto whom he answered, that as concerning his recantation, he repented it right sore, because he knew it was against the truth; with other words. Whereupon the Lord Williams* cried: "Make short! make

* "Lord Williams was considered as the mildest of Princess Elizabeth's jailors. Of what stuff must the sterner have been made!"—Mackintosh.

short !' Then the bishop took certain of his friends by the hand : but the bachelor of divinity refused to take him by the hand, and blamed all others that did so, and said he was sorry that ever he came in his company. And yet again he required him to agree to his former recantation. And the bishop answered, showing his hand, ' This is the hand that wrote it, and therefore it shall suffer first punishment.' Fire being now put to him, he stretched out his right hand, and thrust it into the flame, and held it there a good space before the fire came to any other part of his body, where his hand was seen of every man sensibly burning, (he) crying with a loud voice—*This hand hath offended !* As soon as the fire got up, he was very soon dead, never stirring nor crying all the while. His patience in the torment, his courage in dying—if it had been taken either for the glory of God, the wealth of his country, or the testimony of truth, as it was for a pernicious error, and subversion of true religion—I could worthily have commended the example, and matched it with the fame of any father of ancient time : but, seeing that not death, but the cause and quarrel thereof, commendeth the sufferer, I cannot but much dispraise his obstinate stubbornness and sturdiness in dying, and specially in so evil a cause. Surely his death much grieved every man. Some pitied to see his body so tormented with the fire raging upon the silly carcass, that counted not of the folly. Others that passed, thinking not much of the body, lamented to see him spill his soul, wretchedly, without redemption, to be plagued for ever. His friends sorrowed for love ; his enemies for pity ; strangers for a common kind of humanity, whereby we are bound to one another. Thus have I enforced myself for your sake to discourse this heavy narration, contrary to my mind ; and being more than half weary, I make a short end, wishing you a quieter life with less honour, and easier death with more praise, the 23rd of March.—Yours, J. A.

" All this," says Strype, " is the testimony of an adversary, and therefore we must allow for some of his words ; but may be the more certain of the archbishop's brave courage, constancy, Christian and holy behaviour, being related by one so affected." His body was not carried to the grave in state, nor buried as many of his predecessors

The Stake.

BOOK I.
CHAP. I.

were, in his own cathedral church, nor enclosed in a monument of marble or touchstone. Nor had he any inscription to set forth his praises to posterity ; no shrine to be visited by devout pilgrims. Cranmer's martyrdom is his monument ; and his name will outlast a monument or a shrine.

The influence
of Cranmer
on the Eng-
lish Refor-
mation.

His charac-
ter by Rom-
ish writers.

By Church
of England
writers.

By Hume.

The reasons for dwelling thus long on the opinions and public acts and sufferings of Cranmer, will be obvious to those who bear in mind, that to him, more than to any other person, are to be ascribed the ingrafting of Protestant principles in the general mind of England, and the groundwork and outline of the Church established by law in this country. This is not the place for entering on a discussion of the character, the virtues, and the failings of this great man. To such as view him through the medium of some Roman Catholic writers, such as Bossuet, Lingard, and others, he is a monster of impiety, cruelty, deceitfulness, and heresy. To those on the contrary who know him only from the pages of Protestant and Church of England writers, especially those near his own times who are generally followed in our day, he is a perfect example, except in his recantation, of whatever can be looked for in a saint and martyr. Mr. Charles Butler,* in his *Memoirs of English Catholics*, has summed up his character with more impartiality than most Protestants ; though, as might naturally be expected, with a leaning which makes him treat unjustly some of his actions. Hume says of him, " Undoubtedly he was a man of merit, possessed of learning and capacity, and endowed with candour, sincerity, and beneficence, and all those virtues which were fitted to render himself useful and amiable in society. His moral qualities secured him universal respect, and the courage of his martyrdom, though he fell short of the rigid inflexibility observed in many, made him the hero of the Protestant party." †

His severest judges are two distinguished modern writers.

By Hallam.

Mr. Hallam darkens his memory with the charges of voluntarily placing himself in the circumstances of which his faults were the effects ; of a discreditable course of temporizing, and of undue compliance with the will of Henry ; of weakness, which he calls " his principal defect ;" and he

* Vol. I. p. 139.

† History of England, c. 37

expresses his belief that "had the malignity of his enemies been directed rather against his reputation than his life, had the reluctant apostate been permitted to survive his shame, a prisoner in the Tower, it must have seemed a more arduous task to defend the memory of Cranmer; but his fame has brightened in the fire that consumed him." On the other hand he ascribes to the moderation of Cranmer the middle position of the Church of England between the Church of Rome and other Protestant churches.*

Mr. T. B. Macaulay declares that, as a statesman, Cran- By Macaulay.
mer was not a worse man than Wolsey, Gardiner, Cromwell, or Somerset; and he ridicules the idea of placing him in the noble army of martyrs. He denounces him as a time-serving courtier; the *destroyer* of Somerset, the accomplice of the worthless Dudley, and the seducer of Jane into usurpation. He speaks of his recantation as "part of a regular habit," and of his forgiveness of enemies as the virtue of a class whose only object is self-preservation.†

If this be justice, it is certainly in its severest form: it indicates that strong desire for retaliating, which frequently tempts vigorous and capacious minds, when they see that a great man has been over-praised, and when they feel that their powers of expression are such as to dazzle and overwhelm his worshippers. Such writers have not always marked, with sufficient distinctness, the difference between *the man as he was*, and the reputation which his position has secured for him in after times. Nor do they seem to have duly reflected that no human character formed in an age of transition from blindness, ferocity, and despotism, to the light, tolerance, and freedom of happier times, would be likely to leave less dross behind it in the hot furnace by which Cranmer had been tested. With all his weaknesses and faults, we cannot doubt that he was a sincere Christian, and that, in the main, he had higher interests at heart than *some* of his judges could appreciate or understand. His ene- His modern detractors.
mies did not destroy his character when they took his life. We do not believe that English Christians of any denomination can calmly examine his writings, his actions, and his martyrdom, without concluding that he served that His Christi-
anity.

* Constitutional History of England. vol. i. chap. ii. p. 107.

† Edinburgh Review, vol. i. p. 43.

BOOK I. Master "who knoweth our frame," and who "*hath washed*
 CHAP. I. *us from our sins in his own blood.*"*

John Hooper. JOHN HOOPER, a native of Somersetshire, having studied the sciences at Oxford, devoted himself to the reading of the Scriptures, and earnest prayer. By these practices he brought upon himself the enmity of Dr. Richard Smith, reader of divinity at Oxford, and he was obliged to leave the University, and became steward to Sir Thomas Arundel. Sir Thomas introduced him, by letter, to Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, who, after conferring with him for four or five days, sent him back to his master, with a strong dislike to him on account of his religious principles.

Conference
with Bishop
Gardiner.

Escape to
Germany.

Returns to
London.

Elected
Bishop of
Gloucester,
and refuses
the vest-
ments.

Hooper fled from England into France, afterwards returned home, where he was maintained for some time by "Master Sentlow," until, new troubles arising, he escaped into Germany, and afterwards to Switzerland, where he enjoyed the friendship of Bullinger. When the "Six Articles" were rescinded by Edward VI., he took leave of his friend Bullinger, using these remarkable words:—"You shall be sure, from time to time, to hear of me, and I will write unto you how it goeth with me; but the last news of all I should be unable to write, for there," taking Bullinger by the hand, "where I shall take most pains, there shall you hear of me to be burnt to ashes, and that shall be the last news, which I shall not be able to write unto you, but you shall hear of me." After his return to London he became exceedingly popular as an earnest, faithful, eloquent, and laborious preacher, preaching daily, and mostly twice a day. When, by the King's command, he was elected Bishop of Gloucester, he refused to wear the vestments, and prayed the King that they might be dispensed with, or that he might be discharged from the bishopric. The King wrote to the Archbishop Cranmer, freeing him from all dangers which he might incur by omitting the usual rites of consecration, leaving the omission, apparently, to the archbishop's discretion. But the archbishop thought that the King's bare letters were not sufficient to secure him against established laws.* Warwick, afterwards Duke of Northumberland, partly moved by the King's desire, also wrote to Cranmer,

* Strype's Life of Cranmer, Book II. c. 17.

urging him not to charge Hooper with an oath "burdenous to his conscience." The scruples of Hooper in this business, the letters of Bucer, Martyn, Latimer, and Ridley, and Hooper's own declamations, which Latimer called "unseasonable and too bitter," his conferences with Ridley and Cranmer, his appearance before the Council, his imprisonment in the Fleet, all ended in his agreeing to wear the offensive habiliments at his consecration, and when he preached before the King, and in his obtaining the freedom of laying them aside at other times. Hooper now gave his strength to the energetic fulfilment of his episcopal duties, in the diocese of Gloucester, and also in that of Worcester.

His fulfilment of the Episcopal duties.

In the early part of Mary's reign he was called before Gardiner, Bonner, and other bishops, commissioners appointed by the Queen, who sent him to the Fleet, where it appears from his own published report he suffered great hardships. During his many and tedious examinations, these bishops treated him with the utmost scorn and rudeness, one calling him a hypocrite, another a beast, and another a tyrant. In his prison he encountered—but with more firmness—the same kind of flattering attempts on his constancy that overcame Cranmer. Failing in these attempts, his enemies spread a report that he had recanted, to which he replied in a letter addressed to his brethren: "This talk ariseth of this, that the Bishop of London (Bonner) and his chaplain resort unto me. Doubtless, if our brethren were as godly as I could wish them, they would think that in case I did refuse to talk with them, they might have just reason to say that I were unlearned, and durst not speak with learned men, or else proud, and disdained to speak with them; therefore, to avoid just suspicion of both, I have, and do daily speak with them when they come, not doubting but that they reported that I am neither proud nor unlearned. And I would wish all men to do as I do in this point; for I fear not their arguments, neither is death terrible unto me;—praying you (to) make true report of the same as occasion shall serve, and that I am more confirmed in the truth which I have preached heretofore, by their coming. I have taught the truth with my tongue and with my pen heretofore; and hereafter, shortly, will confirm the same (by God's grace) with my blood."

Sent to the Fleet.

Bishop Bonner and his Chaplain visit him.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

His Condem-
tion and
Martyrdom.

Two days after writing this letter Hooper was condemned, (with Rogers,) before Gardiner, at whose request Bonner degraded him, and deprived him of the order, benefit, and privilege of the clergy, and then delivered him to the sheriffs to suffer death. He suffered death by fire, at Gloucester. His last words were—"Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!" His works are:—A Declaration of Christ and of His Office: a Godly Confession and Protestation of the Christian Faith, wherein is declared what a Christian Man is bound to Believe of God, his King, his Neighbour, and Himself: a Declaration of the Ten Holy Commandments, collected out of the Scripture Canonical: a Brief and Clear Confession of the Christian Faith, containing an hundred Articles, according to the order of the Apostles' Creed: Certain Comfortable Expositions, written in the Time of his Imprisonment, on the 23d, 62d, 73d, and 77th Psalms of the Prophet David. It is remarkable, and greatly illustrates his own character, as well as that of his opponents, that in his exposition of the 62d Psalm, 4th verse, he says, "The fury of the wicked may seem in his own eyes to be stable, firm, and constant; but, indeed, there is nothing more trembling, nor tottering, as we may see at the present day: as we may mark and see in the Bishops of Winchester, Gardiner, and also Bonner, the Bishop of London; when King Henry VIII. suspected them both to be favourers of the Pope, the capital enemy of Christ and his church, Winchester fell into such a trembling and fear, that with all haste he wrote his purgation, in a book named True Obedience; and Bonner sent an epistle before it, both they crying out against the Pope, as against a tyrant and a false usurper of authority in this realm, (although they thought nothing less.) Thus we may see how inconsistent, trembling, and quaking, these tottering, wicked persecutors of God's Word be. I could declare more of their religion to be of the same condition, but because these two, and Tunstal, Bishop of Durham, be known openly to the world by their books to be such, I speak only of them."*

John Brad-
ford

JOHN BRADFORD was born at Manchester. The earlier part of his life he spent in the service of Sir John Harring-

* Hooper's Expositions at London, printed by Henry Middleton, 1580.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

ton, during which period he seems to have studied law in the Inner Temple. From thence he went to Cambridge, where he became master of arts at the end of his first year. When he had taken his degree, he was made fellow of Pembroke Hall, and received into deacon's orders by Bishop Ridley, who gave him a prebend in St. Paul's. Of his preaching for three years, Fox testifies, that "sharply he opened and reprov'd sin; and sweetly he preached Christ crucified; pithily he impugned heresies and errors; earnestly he persuaded to godly life." He was deprived of his office and liberty, for saving the life of a Popish preacher, Bourne, afterwards Bishop of Bath. For a long time he was confined to Newgate. After his death his son found some papers hid in a corner, which contained his own account of his examinations before Bonner and others, which are printed in the third volume of Fox's Acts and Monuments. He was burned at Smithfield, with a youth named John Leaf, to whom he turned his head, saying, "Be of good comfort, brother, for we shall have a merry supper with the Lord this night; and, embracing the reeds, he said, "Straight is the way, and narrow is the gate that leadeth to eternal salvation, and few there be that find it." Many of his epistles are preserved in Coverdale's Letters of the Martyrs, and in John Fox's Manuscripts. In the time of his imprisonment he wrote a series of Meditations, Prayers, and Exercises. He wrote, likewise, a short and pithy "Defence of the Holy Election of Predestination of God, gathered out of the First Chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians;" and "a Fruitful Treatise, and full of Heavenly Consolation against the Fear of Death." After his death, Dr. Simpson, who had been the instrument of his conversion, published several of his sermons on Repentance, the Lord's Supper,

Confined to
Newgate.Burned at
Smithfield.His Sermons
published.

&c.

In reviewing this brief sketch of the Fathers of the Protestant Church of England, the question will naturally arise,—In what respects did these eminent men differ from the Church of Rome, and on what *principle* did they take their stand? Tindal's great principle was, *the divine authority and sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures*, rejecting on that ground the authority of the Pope, of fathers, councils, and kings, in *all matters pertaining to religion*. Frith's

Summary.

BOOK I.
CHAP. I.

was the same. So was Barnes'; so was Latimer's; so was that of both the Ridleys; so was Bradford's. Cranmer, indeed, in the various changes through which he passed, appears to have mingled an undue regard for the authority of the King, and a desire to avoid extremes in conducting the Reformation, with his reverence for Scripture; yet it is clear that in all theological questions the Bible was his *professed* standard, and he wrote with the air of one who regarded every man as having a right to form his own judgment of what the Bible teaches, though the spirit of intolerance prevailing in that age *among all parties*, and of which he had his full share as a ruler, is manifestly opposed to the principles in which, as a Christian, he lived and died. Had Hooper been more inflexible at the time when he objected to the episcopal vestments, there is no reason for doubting that he would have been punished, if not with death, yet by imprisonment for his nonconformity.*

One cannot read of the intercourse of these learned men with the Reformers of Germany and Switzerland, nor examine their correspondence with those eminent divines, without perceiving that the reasons why many of them did not carry out the Reformation of the Church of England farther than they did, were founded in their views of temporary expediency, in their imperfect apprehension of the authority of Christ, or in their fear of the consequences in which such an enterprise would have involved them. Without pronouncing any judgment on the soundness of their policy, the innocency of their errors, or the Christian courage of their bearing, we may observe, that whatever good they did, and how deeply soever posterity is indebted to their writings and their sufferings, there is nothing

* How that matter was adjusted, and with what bitterness the bishops persecuted that good man, is related by Fox, in his *Latin Book of Martyrs*. The passage I shall translate, because Fox, out of his too great tenderness towards that party, has left it out of all the English editions. "Thus," says he, "ended this theological quarrel, in the victory of the bishops, Hooper being forced to recant; or, to say the least, being constrained to appear once in public attired after the manner of the other bishops. Which unless he had done there are those who think the bishops would have endeavoured to take away his life; for his servant told me, the Duke of Suffolk sent such word to Hooper, who was not himself ignorant of what they were doing."—A Vindication of the Dissenters, in Answer to Dr. William Nichols' Defence of the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England; in Three Parts, written first in Latin, and were translated into English, with large Additions, by James Peiree, London, 1707.

in the principles they established to require that, in the present age, we should believe what they believed, and no more; or that we should go as far as they did from the corrupted system out of which they groped their way, but no farther. Rich indeed is the inheritance which they have left us, of doctrinal theology, of amended public services, and of holy constancy in persecution and in death. Never, we hope, will their memory cease to glow in the hearts of Englishmen, nor the grand truths they taught fail to guide our churches. Yet were they not but partially enlightened? Were they not fallible men? Did not they retain, some of them, more Popery than they liked, from fear; and others of them, less than they could have wished, from weakness?—Certainly it is not from *any* of the Reformers of the English Church that this great and free nation has learned the lesson of toleration, or imbibed the spirit of freedom. Let them not be blamed for the imperfections of their natural character, for the darkness that clouded their light, for that servility to political rulers in religion in which they were so trained, that their loyalty was a feeble superstition rather than a manly principle. Let the Providence of God be adored in raising up such men in such an age, and in overruling both their ambition and that of their royal superiors to bring out slowly the accomplishment of His designs. At the same time, it argues a capital defect in the perception of what is due to truth and manhood, to conscience and to God, to exchange the bonds of a Roman Pope for those of English monarchs and their bishops; or to mistake the model begun by Henry and completed by Elizabeth for the perfection of a Christian church. Whatever perfection may be honestly claimed for that model, as compared with the hierarchy of Rome, or with the platform of Geneva, and how strongly soever it may be thought to identify itself with other institutions, the truth of history relating to it is this:—*that it would not have been that for which it is so highly valued but for the precursors of the Puritans, and the Puritans themselves.*

Contrast between the Romish and Reformed Churches

Did the Puritans object strongly, harshly, nay, intolerantly, to the supremacy of the Pope, and to the doctrines and ceremonies of the Roman Church? So did the English

The Puritans

BOOK I.
CHAP. I.

Reformers that preceded them. Did the Puritans *passively* resist the authority of both temporal and spiritual rulers? So did the Reformers. Did the Puritans disturb the peace of the church—attach importance to what other men called trifles, severely judge their oppressors—stoutly and doggedly stand up for their own opinions—condemn in word and deed the licentiousness that surrounded them—embrace and propagate doctrines which lay open to all sorts of objections? Were they charged with ignorance, sedition, hot-headedness, spiritual pride, and all manner of immoralities? Exactly the same objections, and in the same spirit, were made to the Reformers by adversaries not less intelligent, nor less candid, than the adversaries of the Puritans. The only difference between the men we have described, and the men to whose history we are coming, is a difference of *degree*, not of principles; and the difference of degree is that between the dawn and the progress of the same light.

The difference between the early Reformers and the Puritans.

To modern objectors against the Puritans it might be said:—Read their history, study their works. They had faults; but their predecessors had faults, and the same faults. If those who opened the door were right, they were not wrong who, entering in at that door, went further than themselves in the same path. The Roman Catholic will admit that it is right to maintain *his* conscientious views of religion, even though they be offensive to “the powers that be.” There is no ground that can be taken for Protestantism against Popery, or, to go still higher, for Christianity against heathen governors, that cannot be taken in reason, and justly defended, on behalf of the English Puritans. Even the opponent of all religion must acknowledge the right of other men to think differently, and to act according to their own thought, so long as they break no law of morality, nor act seditiously against a settled government.

The writings of the Puritans.

It is to Christians that the Puritans present the *peculiar* aspect which belongs to their character. Unhappily, their writings, with the exception of a few popular treatises, are but slightly known; and comparatively few persons, of any church within these realms, have become competent to form a just estimate of their character. How could such an estimate be formed without knowing more of the men

than what can be gathered from the occasional references of secular historians, or from those scornful invectives of their triumphant enemies, which have been repeated a thousand times by men who did not know, from examination, whether those invectives contained a particle of truth or honesty?—It would be unfair not to add, that there may be prejudices in favour of the Puritans which are no better founded than prejudices against them; though there must be a difference observed between prejudices against the true, the right, and the good, and prejudices against the false, the wrong, and the evil. Men ought to be on their guard against mistaking prejudice of any kind for *conviction*. Inquiry establishes some prejudices, while others it destroys. In all cases affecting the characters of men and of public institutions, it is the manifest duty of those who have the opportunity, to become acquainted with facts, and from those facts to draw only just and sober conclusions: for such as have not the opportunity of doing this, it is not well that *they* should give any positive opinions.

BOOK II.

THE RISE OF THE PURITANS UNDER THE TUDORS.

CHAPTER I.

REIGN OF HENRY VIII.

Section I. A.D. 1536—1546.

FROM the sketch of the Fathers of the English Reformed Church which has been given in the First Book, it appears that *the principles of the PURITANS were acted on long before this name was applied.*

BOOK II.
CHAP. I.

In the twenty-seventh year of the reign of Henry VIII. the first Convocation of the Reformed Church began its sitting, on the 9th of June, when Latimer preached, in Latin, from the text: "The children of this world are, in their generation, wiser than the children of light." During the Convocation, Cromwell, the King's Vicar-general, declared, in the King's name, that it was the King's pleasure that the rites and ceremonies of the Church should be reformed *by the rules of Scripture*, and that nothing was to be maintained that did not rest on that authority; for it was absurd, since that was acknowledged to contain the laws of religion, that recourse should rather be had to glosses, or the decrees of popes, than to these.

The first Convocation of the Reformed Church.

In Cranmer's speech against Stokesly and the rest of the anti-reforming party in the Convocation, he argued learnedly and at full length, on the authority of the Scriptures, the uncertainty of tradition, and the corruptions which the monks and friars had brought into the Christian doctrine. Fox, Bishop of Hereford, seconded the Archbishop, declaring that the world would now be no longer deceived with the sophistry which the clergy had formerly used, since the laity in all nations were studying the Scriptures in the

Influence of the Scriptures acknowledged.

BOOK II.
CHAP. I.Articles of
Religion set
forth.

original tongues, as well as in vulgar translations; so that it was a vain imagination to expect that they would now be governed by the arts which had been so affectual in times of ignorance.—After much consultation and debate, the Convocation set forth the Articles about Religion. These Articles are given at length by Fuller, who copied them from the Convocation Records; by Burnet, Collier, and other church historians. An abridgment of them is given by Neale, in his History of the Puritans.* They were framed by order of the King, brought into the Upper House by Cromwell, and signed by the majority of the bishops, abbots, and friars; and then by the archdeacons and proctors of the Lower House.† The royal declaration at the head of these Articles, distinguishes “such as be expressly commanded by God, and be necessary to our salvation,” from those which “have been of long continuance, for a decent order, and honest policy, prudently instituted and used in the church of our realm, and be for that same purpose and end to be observed and kept accordingly, although they be not expressly commanded of God, nor necessary to our salvation.”

Summary of
the Articles.

The Articles thus set forth include, (1.) The Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, and the Athanasian Creed, according to which the Bible is to be interpreted. (2.) Baptism; as universally necessary to eternal life, securing remission of sins and the favour of God, the gift of the Holy Ghost, purification from sin, adoption into God's family. (3.)

Penance.

Penance; a thing so necessary for a man's salvation, that no man falling into sin, after baptism, can, without penance, attain everlasting life: this penance consisting of *contrition*, (with faith in the mercy of God;) *confession to a priest* if it can be had,—the words of the priest in absolving to be taken as the very words and voice of God himself; and the *fruits* of penance, which are prayer, fasting, alms-deeds, and good works. “By penance we not only obtain everlasting life, but we shall deserve remission or mitigation of pains and afflictions in this world.”

The Mass.

(4.) The Sacrament of the Altar; wherein, under the

* Second Edition, vol. I. p. 15-17.

† There are two instruments recording the signatures; one in the State Paper Office, the other in the Cotton Library, British Museum; the latter, engrossed on vellum, is believed to be the original.

figure and form of bread and wine, is verily, substantially, and really contained and comprehended, the very self-same body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ which was born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered upon the cross for our redemption. (5.) That sinners attain justification by contrition, and faith, and charity. (6.) That images were to stand in the churches as memorials, but not to be worshipped. (7.) That saints were to be honoured and prayed to, but not as unto God. (8.) Purgatory: praying for departed souls is good and charitable; but the people must not believe that the Pope had power to deliver souls from purgatory by masses or pardons.

Prayer to
Saints.

Lord Herbert, in his *Life of Henry VIII.*, blames the heat and obstinacy of both Catholics and Protestants in their disputes, since these Articles left so little in which they did not agree. He remarks that, the Reformers being the weaker side, suffered most for their *stiffness*; and that the barbarities inflicted on the "gospellers" brought great odium on the Roman Catholics.*

The King, apprehending that his proceedings for some years past would be censured at the council summoned about this time to meet at Mantua, obtained a general declaration from the English bishops and clergy, that the Pope had no right to convene a council without the consent of other Christian princes, especially such as had the supreme government of their subjects; and he published his own protestation against such a council.—The Articles of Religion were but ill received in the northern part of the kingdom; at a meeting of the clergy held at Pomfret, strong objections to them were agreed upon, which were supported by the insurgents, until they were put down by the Duke of Norfolk. The grounds of this insurrection were so plausible, that, if we may believe Gardiner's sermon before King Philip and Cardinal Pole, Henry was only prevented from restoring supremacy over the Church to the Pope, by the apprehension that his doing so might be construed into fear.†

Henry VIII
protests
against a
General
Council.

After the suppression of the northern rebellion, the King went forward in the visitation of the monasteries.

The Visita-
tion of the
Monasteries.

* Lord Herbert's *Life of King Henry VIII.* p. 406.

† Fox. Second edition, p. 14, 70. Collier's *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii. p. 138.

BOOK II. In the year of Prince Edward's birth, (1537,) was published
 CHAP. I. the "Institution of a Christian Man;" a kind of royal standard of theology.

Printing of
 the English
 Bible.

In the following year the Protestant princes of Germany deputed three learned men to reason with the bishops and the King of England, on behalf of a further progress in the reformation of the Church. The address of these ambassadors, together with the answer given to them by Henry, are preserved in the Cottonian Library, in the British Museum; and an abridgment of them is printed in Collier's Ecclesiastical History of England. They show how far Tunstall, who drew up the reply,—the King, who adopted it,—and the bishops, who approved of it,—were from rejecting some of the most dangerous doctrines of the Roman Church.—In his own way, nevertheless, Henry still carried the Reformation forward. He sanctioned the printing and the reading of the Bible in English. He ordered the clergy to teach the people their prayers; to remove images that had been abused to superstition; and to omit numerous ceremonies; and he put down monasteries, forbade pilgrimages to shrines, and exposed the superstition and impostures connected with relics: though in all this there was much to justify the sarcasm of Bishop Godwin, the annalist of bishops, "the King was strongly disposed to promote a reformation that would turn the penny, and furnish the exchequer." He rifled the tomb and degraded the memory of Thomas a'Becket.—The Pope, roused by these insults, launched against the heretic-King the long-delayed thunder of excommunication.

Influence of
 the suppression
 of the
 Monasteries
 on the Reformation.

The suppression of the monasteries was a transaction only remotely connected with the reformation of religion, by weakening the ecclesiastical body in Parliament, and securing to the reformed religion the noble and powerful families among whom the spoil was divided. The views which may be taken against it on the score of religion, morality, and public policy, have been publicly expressed by many Roman Catholic, and not a few Protestant writers; and nearly all that has been said on the opposite side is summed up by Mr. Hallam with his usual impartiality.*

On the 5th of May, 1539, a Committee of the House of

* Con. His. i. 80, 81.

Lords was appointed by the King's command, to draw up articles of agreement in religion. The Committee consisted of the Lord Cromwell, the two Archbishops, and six bishops; but the views of Cromwell, Cranmer, and the Bishops of Ely and Worcester differing from the other Archbishop, and the other four bishops, eleven days of debate were wasted without coming to any conclusion. The Duke of Norfolk then introduced a series of questions, on which was based the terrible law of "THE SIX ARTICLES," against which Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, protested. Having passed in the Convocation and both Houses of Parliament, on the 28th of June it received the signature of the King.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

Committee of
the Lords on
the articles
of agreement
in religion.

The title of it was, "An Act FOR ABOLISHING DIVERSITY OF OPINIONS IN CERTAIN ARTICLES CONCERNING CHRISTIAN RELIGION." It is said in the preamble, that the King, "considering the blessed effects of union, and the mischiefs of discord, since there were many different opinions both among the clergy and laity, about some points of religion, had called this parliament and a synod at the same time, for removing these differences, where six articles were proposed and long debated by the clergy: and the King himself had come in person to the parliament and council, and opened many things of high learning and great knowledge about them, and that he, with the assent of both Houses of Parliament, had agreed on the following Articles. (1.) That in the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, there remained no substance of bread and wine, but, under these forms, the natural body and blood of Christ were present. (2.) That communion in both kinds was not necessary to salvation to all persons by the law of God; but that both the flesh and blood of Christ were together in each of the kinds. (3.) That priests after the order of priesthood might not marry by the law of God. (4.) That vows of chastity ought to be observed by the law of God. (5.) That the use of private masses ought to be continued; which, as it was agreeable to God's law, so men received great benefit by them. (6.) That auricular confession was expedient and necessary, and ought to be retained in the Church.—The parliament thanked the King for the pains he had taken in these Articles: and enacted, that if any

The Law of
the Six Arti-
cles.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

The Burning
of Heretics.

after the 12th of July, did speak, preach, or write against the first Article, they were to be judged heretics, and *to be burnt without any abjuration*; and to forfeit their real and personal estates to the King. And those who, either in word or writing, spake against them, were to be prisoners during the King's pleasure, and forfeit their goods and chattels to the King, for the first time; and if they offended so the second time, they were to suffer as felons. All the marriages of priests are declared void; and if any priest did still keep any such woman, whom he had so married, and lived familiarly with her as with his wife, he was to be judged a felon: and if a priest lived carnally with any other woman, he was upon the first conviction to forfeit his benefices, goods, and chattels, and be imprisoned during the King's pleasure, and upon the second conviction was to suffer as a felon. The women so offending were also to be punished in the same manner as the priests. And those who contemned or abstained from confession or the sacrament at the accustomed times, for the first offence were to forfeit their goods and chattels, and be imprisoned; and for the second were to be adjudged of felony. And for the execution of this Act, commissions were to be issued out to all archbishops and bishops, and their chancellors and commissaries, and such others in the several shires as the King shall name, to hold their sessions quarterly, or oftener; and they were to proceed upon presentments and by a jury. Those commissioners were to swear that they should execute their commission indifferently, without favour, affection, corruption, or malice. All ecclesiastical incumbents were to read this Act in their churches once a quarter. And in the end a proviso was added concerning vows of chastity; that they should not oblige any, except such as had taken them at or above the age of twenty-one years, or had not been compelled to take them." *

Commissions
issued for the
execution of
the Act.

The Reception of the
Statute by
the Romish
party.

This "severe and barbarous statute" † was well received by the enemies of the Reformation. It removed from the King all suspicion of carrying his innovations so far as the Reformers, both in England and on the Continent, had

* Burnet's History of the Reformation, Pt. i. pp. 258, 259.

† Lingard.

hoped. It lessened the resentment awakened by the suppression of the monasteries. It gave strength to the anti-reforming party in the state and in the Church, and among the large masses in several parts of the country, who were opposed to the recent changes in religion: for though the Act bore with severity against friars and nuns, by restraining them to celibacy after they were dismissed from their convents, yet as the Protestants were chiefly exposed to the severity of the statute, the misery of adversaries, according to the usual maxims of party, was regarded by the adherents to the ancient religion as their own prosperity and triumph.*

This surrender of *religious liberty* to the will of a tyrant was soon followed by the abandonment of the English constitution on the part of Henry's servile parliament, in making the King's proclamations of equal authority with laws. Under this system of despotic bigotry, the safety of the suspected was cast on the reluctance of the people to inform, or of juries to convict; but the strong prejudices against the Reformation, worked on by its public enemies, and the activity of the commissioners in securing presentments, brought large numbers under the dreadful penalties of this bloody statute *for producing* AGREEMENT *in religion!* Cranmer showed his submission by sending away his wife, and he was too dear to Henry not to enjoy his protection. Latimer, further advanced in religion than Cranmer, resigned his See of Worcester, and Shaxton that of Salisbury: they were both imprisoned for speaking against the Act.

The servility
of the Parlia-
ment.

In a short time not fewer than five hundred persons were declared guilty, and sent to prison.† The diligence of John Fox has preserved the names of a great number. The reader is perhaps familiar with the minute and touching stories collected by that patient and faithful historian. If not, let him turn to the history and sufferings of Testwood, Filmer, and others at Windsor; and of Anne Askew, and her companions in flames, at Smithfield.

We need not relate the fall of Cromwell. Within two months of the date of his being made Earl of Essex and Knight of the Garter, he was charged with high treason,

Cromwell,
Earl of Essex.

* Hume, ch. xxxii.

† Collier, ii. 184.

BOOK II.
CHAP. I.Indiscrimi-
nate persecu-
tion.

and, without ever being brought to a trial, executed. He has been extravagantly praised by the friends of the Reformation. He fell a victim to the interpretation of the law which he had himself obtained from the judges. He was the too faithful servant of the crimes of Henry. To secure himself, his party, and the interests of the Reformation, he brought about the King's marriage with Anne of Cleves. The King, dissatisfied with this, his fourth Queen, was easily alienated from the minister who had persuaded him to marry her, and he sacrificed Cromwell to his own selfishness and ferocity. Two days after Cromwell's execution, when Barnes and his two companions were burned at Smithfield for heresy, Powel, Fetherston, and Abel,* were put to death for owning the Pope's supremacy, and denying the King's. One of each was put upon a hurdle; the Papists were hanged, drawn, and quartered; and the other three were burned. "This," says Fox, "was an odd spectacle, and looked like fanciful severity, insomuch that a Frenchman who was there, being surprised at the conduct of the government, told his friend in Latin, *they had a strange way of managing in England*, for those who are *for* the Pope are hanged, and those *against* him burned."

Satyric
Plays.

In the year 1542, Bishop Bonner published his injunctions to his clergy, requiring them to observe all the orders set forth by the King's authority; to teach the parishioners' children to read, taking but moderate rates of those that are able to pay; not to suffer any plays, games, and interludes in their churches or chapels; that no sermon composed by other men either this two or three hundred years be made use of, and that, in preaching, they should explain the gospel or epistle of the day, use the prayers, sacraments, and ceremonies, avoiding all railing, personalities, and fabulous relations.† The plays referred to in these injunctions had been used in former times, and were at that time very popular. They were designed to ridicule the disorders of the monks and clergy. Although rude

* These are the names given by Fox, vol. ii. p. 445. Neale gives four different names.

† Bishop Burnet thinks they were imposed on Bonner by an order from the King.

in plan, and coarse in expression, they were encouraged by the political enemies of the Pope and his Church ; while they were seriously condemned by the religious Reformers as injurious to true religion.*

BOOK II.
CHAP. I.

The passionate declamations of preaching friars at that time, led to the adoption of homilies, drawn up by authority, and to the general practice of writing and reading sermons, instead of extemporary preaching. Though the use of the Bible was, soon after this, restrained, Tyndale's translation, the works of Wickliffe, Barnes, and other Protestants being prohibited, yet the law of the SIX ARTICLES was greatly mitigated.

During the last three or four years of Henry's reign, the Reformation was rather checked than promoted ; for though the King inflicted severe punishment on the Catholics for denying his supremacy, and one of his last communications with Cranmer was an order for abolishing certain superstitions, " Henry was as much the pope of England, as the Pontiff was of Rome ; and Popery, under another head, still triumphed in its most obnoxious forms."†

The close of
the reign of
Henry VIII.

The enemies of the Protestant religion are fond of representing Henry as the founder of that religion in this country ; ‡ and the zealous Protestants in discarding the relation, are apt to overlook the real obligations of their religion to that monarch. It ought not to be forgotten, that wayward, imperious, and capricious, as he was, he destroyed the tyranny of the Pope in England, thus undermining the foundation on which the entire structure of false doctrine and superstition was raised. He abolished the monasteries, which the calmest writers on English history regard as a step not only justifiable in itself, whatever faults there were in the mode of doing it, but as putting an end to a huge mass of delusions and crimes, and as greatly securing the orderly administration of justice. He ordered the translation of the Scriptures, declared them to be the only rule of faith, and encouraged the use of them among his subjects.

Influence of
Henry VIII.
on the Reformation.

Whatever he did, he did, not as a Protestant, but as a Ca-

Motives of
Henry VIII.

* Similar representations did much to further the Reformation in Holland. See Brandt's History of the Reformation in the Low Countries, vol. i. p. 128.

† Brook's Memoir of Cartwright. Introduction, p. 4.

‡ None more so, though under a veil of seducing fairness, than Dr. Lingard, in his History.

BOOK II.
CHAP. I.

tholic. "He was a prince of an undaunted spirit, the master of as great a courage as the world had : and the work required it. He durst not else have grappled with that mighty adversary in the see of Rome. Finding the Pope the greatest obstacle to his desires, he first divested him by degrees of his supremacy ; and finally extinguished his authority in the realm of England, without noise or trouble, to the great admiration and astonishment of the rest of the Christian world. But, for his own part, he adhered to *his old religion*; severely persecuted those who dissented from it ; and died in that faith and doctrine which he sucked in with his mother's milk."*

Persecutions
of Henry
VIII.

His cruel persecutions of those who differed from him in religion were in the spirit of the most eminent lawyers and ecclesiastics of his own kingdom, and of the most enlightened of his contemporary sovereigns. Udal, who, after suffering bitterly for Nonconformity in the reign of Elizabeth, died of a broken heart in prison, described him as "the English Hezekiah, deputed and sent to be the destroyer, not only of all counterfeits in religion, who swarmed among us like disguised maskers, but also to root up all idolatry done to dead images of stone."†

The truth is, that three hundred years ago the general tone of civilized society was more stern than we can well conceive of in the present day. After all that has been said, and truly said, of the licentiousness of Henry, and of his cruelties to those of his subjects who resisted his religious measures, "changes so mighty in the opinion of all, and so beneficial in the judgment of most, have never been achieved in any country, when so opposed, with so little bloodshed and individual cruelty."‡

• Heylin's *Ecclesia Restaurata*, 1661, Preface.

† Preface to his translation of Erasmus' paraphrase on Luke.

‡ Turner's *History of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, vol. ii. p. 545

CHAPTER II.

REIGN OF EDWARD VI.

A. D. 1547—1553.

THE greater part of Protestant historians have dwelt with reverent admiration on the extraordinary talents, learning, and piety of Edward VI. His record of events during his reign, and many of his letters and other compositions, if they are to be regarded as his own compositions, are indeed remarkable proofs that their admiration is well-founded.* But the diligence of less partial writers has brought to light some features of his character which render it very probable that, if he had grown to maturity, he would have displayed the severe spirit of the Tudors as strongly as his father; and it is clear, from various circumstances, that his ministers and guardians, as might easily be supposed, spared no pains to produce the impression of his almost supernatural judgment and acquirements.

The executors of the late King appointed the Earl of Hertford, (the young King's uncle by his mother's side,) now the Duke of SOMERSET, Protector, until the King attained his eighteenth year. The Protector soon became chief ruler in the kingdom. Freed from the restraints of a Henry's absolute will, the new government resolved to carry the reformation of the Church to still greater lengths. Wriothesly, Earl of Southampton, who opposed the Reformation, was excluded from the Council, and Tunstal, Bishop of Durham, another opponent, was confined almost entirely to his

BOOK II.
CHAP. II.

The Duke of Somerset made Protector.

* Hallam, Con. Hist. p. 91. King Edward's Journal, Year II. "I can hardly avoid doubting whether Edward VI.'s journal, published in the second volume of Burnet, is altogether his own, because it is strange that a boy of ten years old should write with the precise brevity of a man of business. Yet it is hard to say how far an intercourse with able men on serious subjects, may force a royal plant of such natural vigour; and his letters to his young friend, Barnaby Fitz-Patrick, published by H. Walpole in 1776, are quite unlike the style of a boy. One could wish this journal not to be genuine; for the manner in which he speaks of both his uncles' executions does not show a good heart. Unfortunately, however, there is a letter extant of the King to Fitz-Patrick, which must be genuine, and is in the same strain. He treated his sister Mary harshly about her religion, and had, I suspect, too much Tudor blood in his veins."

BOOK II.
CHAP. II.

Divine origin
ascribed to
the Liturgy.

diocese. Cranmer was now the leader of the Reformation. Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, was imprisoned in the Fleet; and, after preaching an offensive sermon in the presence of the King and the court, was sent to the Tower. For a similar offence, Bonner, Bishop of London, was deprived of his bishopric, and kept in the Marshalsea prison, during the King's life. After Bonner's deprivation, Gardiner, Heath,* Bishop of Worcester, and Day, Bishop of Chichester, shared a similar fate. The liturgy, in English, was imprudently ascribed (as the book entitled the "Necessary Erudition of a Christian Man," had been by Gardiner) to the aid of the Holy Ghost; and it was enacted, not only that ministers should make use of this, and of no other, but that if any parson, vicar, or spiritual person, shall speak in derogation of it, he shall for the first offence, forfeit a year's profit of one of his preferments, with six months imprisonment; for the second, lose all his preferments, with twelve month's imprisonment; and for the third, be imprisoned for life; and if any one ridicule the same form of worship, menace the minister for using it, or prevail on him to use any other, he shall, on the first conviction, pay a fine of ten pounds; on the second, of twenty; and on the third, forfeit all his goods and chattels, and be imprisoned for life.†

To this enactment, King Edward refers, in his journal of his own reign: "A parliament was called, where an Uniform Order of Prayer was instituted, before made by a number of bishops and learned men gathered together in Windsor. There was granted a subsidy, and there was a notable disputation of the Sacrament in the Parliament House."‡

First reforms
of the Reign.

Besides the setting up of the reformed liturgy, the principal reforming proceedings of this reign were the removal or defacing of statues, crosses, and altars, from the churches—the disuse of tapers, holy water, and incense—the sweeping away of the worship of the Virgin and the saints—the abandonment of belief in purgatory, though prayer for departed souls was retained—the discontinuance of auricular confession—the denial of the corporal presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper; and the restoration of the right of marriage to the clergy. In the metropolis, and in the larger

• See Lord Campbell's account of Heath, in his *Lives of the Lord Chancellors*, vol. ii.

† Statutes of the Realm, vol. iv. pp. 37, 8.

‡ King Edward's Journal

towns, and generally through the eastern counties, these changes were well received ; but the clergy, though generally conformable, disliked them ; the higher classes were adverse to them ; and they were exceedingly unpopular both in the north of England and in the west. Bishop Burnet says, " the bulk of the people of England were still possessed with the old superstition to such a degree, that it was visible they could not be depended on in any matter that related to the alterations that were made, or were designed to be made. All endeavours were too weak to overcome the aversion that the people had to the steps that were made towards a reformation."*

The people, thus averse to the changes forced on them by the government, resented the destruction of their images and shrines as an insult ; and the coarse abuse with which not a few Protestants assailed, what was to them the sacred mystery of the altar, was not likely to efface from their memory the fact, that many of their rulers had followed the late King in all his capricious changes, and were now enriching themselves, by what the Catholics could regard in no other light than as the sacrilegious plunder of the Church. The insurrections in Wilts, Sussex, Surrey, Hants, Berks, Kent, Gloucester, Somerset, Suffolk, Warwick, Essex, Herts, Leicestershire, Worcestershire, and Rutland, which were subdued by Sir William Herbert, and some of the influential gentry and yeomanry ; and those in Oxford, Norfolk, Cornwall, and Devon, which were crushed by the foreign troops raised to serve in the wars with Scotland,† were provoked as much by their dislike to the new forms of religion, as by the distress brought upon the people by the depreciation of the currency in the preceding reign, the scarcity of employment, and the encroachments of the wealthy on the waste lands.

Popular sympathy with superstitious usages.

The power of the Duke of Somerset, the Protector, was shaken by the outbreaks of popular discontent ; and the Earl of Warwick, his great rival both in religion and in politics, at length succeeded in bringing him to trial, conviction of felony, and death. The fate of this ambitious and

Fate of the Protector Somerset.

* History of the Reformation, vol. iii. pp. 1, 20, 196.

† See Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. iii. p. 190

BOOK II. irresolute statesman was hastened by his haughtiness to-
 CHAP. II. wards the other members of the King's Council, who had
 raised him above themselves—by his opposition to the Roman
 Catholics—by his destruction of his brother, Lord Seymour
 —and by his extravagant private expenditure, at a time
 when the government was harassed by the want of money
 to carry on the war with Scotland.*

Alteration of
 the Prayer
 Book.

Three years after the setting forth of the English Book of Common Prayer, it was altered at the suggestion of the foreign divines, and their friends in England; and, in its amended form, received the sanction of the convocation.

Features of
 Edward VI.'s
 policy.

There are two features of the reign of Edward VI. which are worthy of our serious attention:—the severe persecution of those whose consciences forbade them to conform to the national creed and formularies; and, the evidence which exists of the desire, both of the King and some of the leaders of the Reformation, to depart much further than they did, from the Church of Rome.

Enforced
 Conformity.

I.—The Reformation of the Church, resting as it did on the supremacy of the crown, had achieved the repeal of the odious statute of the six articles; but it had enjoined, under most severe penalties, conformity with the new articles and forms, designed to produce uniformity of belief and of worship in the entire kingdom: which was a part of a scheme for uniting all the Protestants of Europe. While Melancthon adhered to the Augsburg Confession, and Calvin saw insuperable obstacles to such a general union, it appeared to Cranmer that the uniformity on which his heart was set might be secured by the civil authority in England. Some of the means employed for this purpose are incapable of vindication. The treatment of the bishops and clergy who adhered to the ancient system was unjust, harsh, and repulsive to every honourable feeling. The conduct of the rulers of the Church towards Ireland calls for the severest reprehension. While protesting against worship in an unknown tongue in England, the English Service-Book was

* Somerset House was raised by pulling down the parish church of St. Mary's, and three Episcopal mansions, and using the materials of several churches and religious edifices in the building.—Collier's Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii. p. 269.

enforced on the Irish people, because there were political reasons for suppressing the Irish language within what was called "The English Pale:" an armed force was kept up to compel the use of the new forms; and Dowdal, the Archbishop of Armagh, was visited with the displeasure of the council for refusing to comply.*

BOOK II.

CHAP. II.

The rigid enforcement of the new articles and ceremonies, was the perpetuation of one of the sorest evils of the church from which they had withdrawn. If it had not been for the protection of the emperor, who was her cousin, the Princess Mary would have suffered the same punishment for her Nonconformity, as the meanest of her fellow-subjects: as it was, her principal chaplains, Doctors Mallet and Barclay, were sent to close imprisonment in the Tower. A cruel inquisition was established for dealing with heresy. Terrified by this inquisition, several Unitarians and others recanted.

Persecutions
by Edward
VI.

All the historians have recorded the case of Joan Boucher,† of Kent. For the foolish notion that Christ did not take flesh of the outward man from the Virgin, she was declared to be a heretic, and given up to the secular power. When Cranmer pronounced the sentence of excommunication, she said to him: "It is a goodly matter to consider your ignorance! It was not long ago that you burned Anne Askew for a bit of bread, and yet come yourselves soon afterwards to believe and profess the same doctrine for which you burned her. And now, forsooth, you will needs burn me for a piece of flesh; and in the end you will come to believe this also, when you have read the Scriptures and understand them." Her life was spared for a year, from the King's unwillingness to sanction her execution. Cranmer, at length, overruled the King's objections, and Edward, as he put his name to the warrant wept, and said to the Archbishop: "If I do wrong, it is in submission to your authority; you shall answer for it to God."‡

Joan of Kent.

"This action," says Burnet, "was much censured, as being contrary to the clemency of the gospel; and was used by Papists, who said it was plain that the Reformers were only against burning when they were in fear of it them-

Censured by
Burnet.

* Lelands' History of Ireland, T. iii. p. 68.

† In some histories the name given is Bocher, or Boucher. I apprehend from an autograph of the woman herself, that the name is *Boucher*.

‡ Burnet's History, vol. ii. p. 112.

BOOK II. selves. The woman's carriage made her be looked upon as
 CHAP. II. a frantic person, fitter for bedlam than a stake. People had
 generally believed that all the statutes for burning heretics
 had been repealed ; but now, when the thing was better
 considered, it was found that the burning of heretics was
 done *by the common law*, so that the statutes made about it
 were only for making the conviction more easy, and the re-
 pealing the statutes did not take away that which was
 grounded on a writ of common law." *

An Arian
 condemned
 to the stake.

Two years after the destruction of this unhappy woman,
 George Van Pare, a Dutch surgeon, is thus referred to in
 King Edward's journal of his own reign :—" April 7. A
 certain Arrian (Arian) of the strangers, a Dutch man, being
 excommunicated by the congregation of his countrymen,
 was after long disputation condemned to the fire." Of this
 sufferer Burnet says : " Of this Pare, I find a Popish writer
 saying, that he was a man of most wonderful strict life, that
 he used not to eat above once in two days, and before he did
 eat, he would lie sometime in his devotion prostrate on the
 ground.†

Cranmer's
 intolerance.

This excommunicated man denied the divinity of Christ.
 He was summoned before Cranmer, Ridley, May, and Cover-
 dale, with whom he had the " long disputation " mentioned
 by the King ; he refused to abjure ; Cranmer pronounced
 the sentence which delivered him to the justice of the
 compter, from whence he went to the flames. The intoler-
 ant spirit of these proceedings, is surely as opposed to the
 Christian religion as any heresy can be ; and these examples
 ought not to be forgotten when we consider the persecutions
 of the following reign.‡

Aim of the
 Reformers.

II.—The strong proofs which exist that the Reformers
 desired to carry the Reformation of the Church of England
 much further than they did, now demand attention.

(i.) That such was the state of mind among the Reformers,

* The law for burning heretics was introduced by the bishops, in the reign
 of Henry IV., for suppressing the followers of Wickliffe. It was not abolished
 till the year 1679.

† Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 112.

‡ In Calvin's Letter to the Protector during the reign of Edward VI., re-
 specting the proceedings in England, at that time, he mentions two sorts of
 troublesome people in this country, the Gospellers, and the sticklers for the
 old superstition, of both which sorts of men he says, " ac inerentur, quidem
 tum hi tum illi, gladio ultore coereri, quam tibi tradidit dominus : "—These both
 deserve to be punished with that avenging sword which the Lord hath de-
 livered to thee.—Calvin's Opera. Tom viii. Epistolæ, p. 40

may be gathered from the fact recorded by Bishop Burnet: "Those steps, in which *the Reformation was advancing but slowly*, occasioned great destructions all over the kingdom : while those who adhered to the old practices and doctrines, preached severely against all innovations, and others as severely against *all* corruptions and abuses. The ill effects of these contradictory sermons had given occasion to a proclamation on the 24th of April, 1550, prohibiting all preaching, except by persons licensed by the King, or the Archbishop of Canterbury."*

BOOK II
CHAP. II.

(ii.) Another strong proof of the larger views of the Reformers is found in the indulgence and protection given to exiles from other countries, to adopt their own creeds, church order, and forms of worship, though they differed greatly from those of the Church of England. The labours of John Knox, the eminent Scottish Reformer, as a preacher at Berwick and Newcastle—his silencing of Bishop Tunstal and the Roman Catholic clergy, in the presence of the Council of the North, at Newcastle—his appointment as one of King Edward's chaplains, to supply the defects of the clergy in preaching—his influence with the English Reformers in the alterations of the Prayer Book, and in drawing up the articles—the high favour and protection he received from the council during these labours—until Northumberland had supplanted Somerset as Protector—the renewal of his employment after a severe trial before the council—the manifest attachment of the King to his ministry—his appointment to a living, which he declined, and the offer of a bishopric, which he likewise declined—all these facts are stated, with the evidence of each, by Dr. M'Crie.†

Their desire
for toleration.

Besides Knox, who continued to receive his salary as a royal chaplain till Edward's death, it is only necessary to mention the services of Peter Martyr, Bucer, Fagus, Tremellius, the eminent Oriental, all of them expressing views opposed to the existing establishments, which, like Knox, they regarded as progressive ; whose learning and judgment was greatly relied on throughout this reign : and they urged a further reformation.

Foreign Re-
formers in
England.

The churches of Dutch, French, German, and Italian

Foreign
Churches.

* History of the Reformation, vol. iii. p. 195

† Life of Knox, vol. i. Period Third. Fourth Edition.

BOOK II.
CHAP. II.

Protestants, by whom the reformation had been carried far beyond that of England, were encouraged by Cecil and by Cranmer. Bishop Burnet has copied from the rolls the original letters patent, in Latin, granted by the King to John A. Lasco and other foreign Protestants,—“freely and quietly to use their own peculiar ecclesiastical discipline, notwithstanding they do not agree with the rites and ceremonies used in our kingdom.” There is one passage in this royal document worthy of marked attention: “*That there may be an uncorrupted interpretation of the gospel, and administration of the sacraments, according to the Word of God and apostolical observance by the ministers of the church of the Germans.*”

Lasco's allusions to Edward VI.

In the dedication of A. Lasco's book, “On the Order of Foreign Churches in England,” he thus addresses Sigismund, King of Poland: “When I was called by that King, (Edward,) and when certain laws of the country stood in the way, so that the public rites of divine worship, used under Popery, could not immediately be purged out, (which the King himself desired;) and when I was earnest for the foreign churches, it was at length his pleasure that the public rites of the English churches should be reformed by degrees, as far as could be got done by the laws of the country; but that strangers, who were not strictly bound to these laws in this matter, should have churches granted unto them, in which they should freely regulate all things wholly according to apostolical doctrine and practice, without any regard to the rites of the country, *that by this means* the English churches also might be excited to embrace apostolical purity, by the unanimous consent of all the estates of the kingdom.”*

Hooper's discarding episcopal vestments.

The acts of several of the English Reformers show still further, that their object was to recede to a much greater distance from the old superstition. Hooper's abandonment, as far as he might, of the episcopal vestments, is a fact of this description. So, also, is the following *item* in Bishop Ridley's injunctions at his visitation of his diocese, in 1550.

Ridley's injunctions.

“Item: Whereas, in divers places some use the Lord's *board* after the form of a table, and some of an altar, whereby dissention is perceived to arise among the un-

* M'Crie's Life of Knox, vol. i. p. 395.—Notes.

learned ; therefore, wishing a godly unity to be observed in all our diocese, and for that the form of a table may more move and turn the simple from the old superstitious opinions of the Popish mass, and to the right use of the Lord's Supper, we exhort the curates, churchwardens, and questmen here present, to erect and set up the Lord's board, after the form of an honest table, decently covered." *

BOOK II.
CHAP. II.

During the reign of Edward, and even in the first years of Elizabeth's, absolute conformity to the liturgy was not pressed upon the ministers. "There was a great variety of sentiments among our Reformers on this point: whether it was fit to retain an external face of things near to what had been practised in the times of Popery or not. The doing that made the people come easily into the more real changes that were made in the doctrines, when they saw the outward appearances so little altered ; so this method seemed the safer and the readier way to wean the people from the fondness they had for a splendid face of things by that which was still kept up. But, on the other hand, it was said that this still kept up the inclination in the people to the former practices ; they were by these made to think that the reformed state of the Church did not differ much from them, and that they imitated them. There followed a great diversity in practice. †

Absolute
Conformity
waived for a
time.

Archbishop Parker, (in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign,) administered the Lord's Supper to persons standing, in the Cathedral Church at Canterbury. The Queen's commissioners appointed the communion to be received in that posture at Coventry, in which city the practice continued till 1608. ‡

Archbishop
Parker's toler-
ation of di-
verse usages.

Dr. Humphrey and Dr. Sampson wrote a joint letter in Latin to Bullinger, at Zurich, in which they say, evidently referring to a fact of public notoriety, "in King Edward's time, the surplice was not universally used, nor pressed upon the clergy." ||

The surplice.

Bishop Latimer laid aside the episcopal habits. "This

Latimer's
Noncon-
formity.

* Burnet's History of the Reformation.

† Burnet, vol. iii. p. 305.

‡ Certain Demands propounded unto Richard, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1605, p. 45. Removal of imputations laid upon ministers of Devon and Cornwall, 1606, p. 51. A Dispute upon the question of Kneeling, 1608, p. 131. M'Crie's Life of Knox, vol. i. p. 105.

|| A copy of this letter is preserved in Burnet's Records, vol. iii. no. 78.

BOOK II.
CHAP. II.

year," says Strype, (1549) "the Archbishop celebrated a great ordination—at this ordination Bishop Ridley also assisted the Archbishop. At this ordination great favour was shown, and connivance to such, who, otherwise being well qualified for piety and learning, scrupled wearing the habits used by the Popish priests. I met with two famous men, now ordained, the one was Robert Drakes, who was deacon to Dr. Taylor, parson of Hadley—the other was Thomas Sampson, parson of Bread Street, London, and successively Dean of Chichester and Christ's Church, Oxon, who, in a letter of his, written to Secretary Cecil, in Queen Elizabeth's reign, said that at his ordination, he excepted against the apparel, and by the Archbishop, and Bishop Ridley, he was nevertheless permitted and admitted.*

Edward VI.'s
own opinions.

(iv.) To these *Puritanical* symptoms we may add the recorded judgments of the King, and of the leading Reformers in his reign. In the Cotton Library, British Museum, (New C. 10.) is a "Discourse about the Reformation of Many Abuses," written with King Edward's own hand. After describing the setting forth of the word of God, and continuing the people in prayer, he adds:—"For discipline it were very good that it went forth; . . . but because those bishops who should execute it, some for Papistry—some for ignorance—some for age—some for their ill-name—some for all these—are men unable to execute discipline."

Agreement
of the Eng-
lish and Con-
tinental Reform-
ers.

Hooper, in a letter to Bullinger, on the 8th February, 1558, says, "the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Rochester, Ely, St. David's, Lincoln, were sincerely *set on advancing the purity of doctrine, agreeing in all things with the Helvetic churches.*" †

Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, in a letter to Gaulter, says, "Oh! would to God, would to God, once at least, all the English people would in good earnest propound to themselves to follow the Church at Zurich, as the most absolute pattern." ‡

* A long account of Sampson's opinions, and of the grounds on which he refused the archbishopric of Norwich, is given by Burnet, vol. iii. p. 291; and his Latin letter to Bucer, from Strasburg, is printed in the Records appended to that volume, no. 62, copied from the original in the Zurich manuscripts.

† Burnet, vol. iii. p. 201.

‡ Strype's Annals of the Reformation, vol. ii. pp. 286-342.

Among Dr. Stillingfleet's manuscripts examined by Bishop Burnet, are, "The resolutions of several bishops and divines of some questions respecting the Sacraments, by which it will appear with what maturity and ease they proceeded in the Reformation." The following are portions of answers given to these questions by Cranmer.*

"There is *no* more promise of God that grace is given in the committing of the ecclesiastical office, than it is in the committing of the civil office. In the apostles' time, when there were no Christian princes, by whose authority ministers of God's word might be appointed, nor sins by the sword corrected, there was no remedy then for the correction of evil, or appointing of ministers, but only the consent of Christian multitudes among themselves, by a uniform consent to follow the advice and persuasion of such persons whom God had most endued with the Spirit of counsel and wisdom; and at that time, forasmuch as the Christian people had no sword nor governor amongst them, they were constrained of necessity to take such curates and priests as they either knew themselves to be meet thereunto, or else as were commended to them by others that were so replete with the Spirit of God, with such knowledge in the profession of Christ, such wisdom, such conversation and council, that they ought even of very conscience to give credit to them, and to accept such as by them were presented; and so sometimes the apostles, and others unto whom God had given abundantly his Spirit, sent or appointed ministers of God's word; sometimes the people did choose such as they thought meet thereto; and when any were sent or appointed by the apostles or others, the people, of their own voluntary will, with thanks did accept them; not for the superiority, empire, or dominion, that the apostles had over them to command, as their princes and masters, but as good people ready to obey the advice of good counsellors, and to accept anything that was necessary for their edification and benefit.

Cranmer's
opinion on
the Sacra-
ments.

"The bishops and priests were at one time, and were not

On clerical
orders.

* They are all given at length by Burnet, vol. i. Records xxi. p. 201; and by Collier, vol. ii. Records xlv.

BOOK II. two things, but with one office,—in the beginning of Christ's
CHAP. II. religion. . . .

“The people, before Christian princes were, did commonly elect their bishops and priests. . . .

On Bishops. “In the New Testament he that is appointed to be a bishop or a priest, needeth no consecration by the Scripture; for election, or appointing thereto, is sufficient.

“It is not against God's law, (that temporal learned men should teach the word of God,) but, contrary, they ought indeed so to do, and there be histories that witnesseth that some Christian princes, and other laymen, unconsecrate, have done the same. . . .”

In the same document the Bishop of St. David's, my Lord elect of Westminster, Dr. Cox, Dr. Redman, say that at the beginning they (bishop and priest) were all one.

Many other documents of the same character might be brought forward; but these may suffice to show that the Reformers of the Church of England were disposed to carry out the Reformation as far as the Puritans in the next age would have desired.

CHAPTER III.

REIGN OF MARY.

A. D. 1553—1558.

SECTION I.—CHARACTER OF MARY.

BOOK II. “THE foulest blot on the character of this Queen is her
CHAP. III. long and cruel persecution of the Reformers. The suffer-
ings of the victims naturally begat an antipathy to the
woman by whose authority they were inflicted. It is, how-
ever, but fair to recollect what I have already noticed, that
the extirpation of erroneous doctrine was inculcated as a
duty by the leaders of every religious party. Mary only
practised what *they* taught. It was her misfortune, rather
than her fault, that she was not more enlightened than the

Lingard's
defence of
Mary's cru-
elty.

wisest of her contemporaries. With this exception, she has been ranked by the more moderate of the reformed writers among the best though not the greatest of our princes." *

This language of the learned historian suggests some grave considerations to the thoughtful reader. Although the greater part of the higher classes in England, and probably even the majority of the nation, agreed with Mary in her religion, the Protestant counties of Norfolk and Suffolk did most to place her on the throne; yet *they* suffered more than any other part of England during the persecution. It lies upon the surface of Mary's history, by whomsoever written, that her natural character was the reverse of being amiable. The deep lines that marked her face, and the dark piercing eyes that "struck with awe all those on whom they were fixed," were features not unsuitable to the gloomy temperament of the narrow-minded bigot—the fierce dissembler—the obstinate enemy of the English nation, who, in a brief reign of five years, stirred up her bishops to burn to death several hundreds of her subjects for religion, brought the nation to the brink of ruin by her unhappy marriage with the King of Spain, and "left none behind her to lament her loss." †

Mary's physiognomy.

SECTION II.—PROTESTANT EXILES.

The excessive barbarities of this bad woman and inglorious Queen, produced some effects which were quite contrary to the expectations of the tyrant, or of her advisers. Among the Protestants who fled from persecution, it was natural that those who sympathised most with the continental Reformers should seek an asylum among their fellow-believers beyond the sea. The Lutherans, with few exceptions, refused to receive them, because of their views

The effect of Mary's cruelty.

* Lingard's History of England, vol. vii. p. 242, 2nd ed. 1844.

† Mr. Hallam has administered to Dr. Lingard a rebuke, which, coming from so calm a writer, is a thousand times more stinging than the most passionate invective. "A man of sense should be ashamed of such miserable partiality to his sect," (Con. Hist. vol. i. p. 113.) Again:—"Those who would diminish this aversion, and prevent these convulsive symptoms, will do better by avoiding for the future either such panegyrics on Mary and her advisers, or such *insidious extenuation of her persecutions as we have lately read*, and which do not raise a favourable impression of their sincerity in the principles of toleration to which they profess to have been converted," p. 114.

BOOK II.
CHAP. III.

of the sacrament ; but the Reformed,—as the disciples of Zuingle, Calvin, and the Swiss Protestants were called,—embraced them with open arms. Among the refugees were some of the most learned, devoted, and experienced of the English Protestants ; of the most prominent of these the history requires that we should give a somewhat distinct account.

John Bale,
Bishop of
Ossory.

JOHN BALE, a native of Cove, near Dunwich, in Suffolk, was led “to the pure fountains of true divinity” at Cambridge, by Lord Wentworth. The protection of Lord Cromwell defended him from the persecutions of the Romish clergy till the death of that nobleman, when he fled to the Low Countries, from whence, at the end of eight years, he was recalled by King Edward. He was soon promoted to the bishopric of Ossory, in Ireland. His perils and sufferings there compelled him to escape for his life. His adventures, by sea and land, both in England and Holland, are related by himself in an old book entitled “The Vocacycon of Joan Bale to the Bishopric of Ossory, in Irelande, his Persecutions in the same, and finall Delyverance.” During the reign of Mary he continued abroad, residing first at Basle, and afterwards at Frankfort.

MYLES COVERDALE, a Yorkshireman, educated at Tubingen, and at Cambridge, is best known by the part he took in the English translation of the Bible.

Coverdale.

The narrative of Bale, first referred to, informs us, that upon the revival of the Church of England, Coverdale was one of the first who, together with Dr. Robert Barnes, taught the purity of the gospel, and dedicated himself wholly to the service of the reformed religion. For his “signal learning in the Scriptures, and for his most approved manners,” he succeeded Dr. John Harman in the see of Exeter. He was ejected and thrown into prison after Mary’s accession ; but at the earnest intreaty of the King of Denmark, he was indulged with *leave* to go into banishment ! During his episcopate at Exeter, which lasted two or three years, he fully justified the choice and commendation of his Sovereign by his preaching, and he was not disturbed, though *in common with many divines of the times, he laid aside the Episcopal vestments.*

His first resort was to the court of the King of Denmark,

to whom he owed his liberty; and from thence he passed into Westphalia, and then to Burgsaber, under the patronage of the Elector of the Rhine, where he continued his pastoral labours till the death of Mary.

BOOK II
CHAP. III

Not the least remarkable man among the Puritan Reformers who left England at the beginning of the Marian persecution, was WILLIAM TURNER, M.D., a native of Morpeth. After gaining high celebrity at Cambridge, by his knowledge of medicine as well as of philosophy and divinity, he devoted himself to the preaching of the gospel in different parts of the kingdom, until he was banished by Henry VIII. Having visited several parts of Italy and of Germany, in the time of his banishment, he was promoted in the Church by Edward VI., and renewed his former habits of itinerant preaching, being at the same time both chaplain and physician to the Protector. Strype says, "he was greatly befriended by Sir John Cheke, and Sir William Cecil; he was the first Englishman that compiled a herbal. He put forth a book in 1555, called *A New Book of Spiritual Physic for divers Diseases of the Nobility and Gentlemen*, dedicating it to divers of the chief nobility. It consisted of three parts. In the first he showed who were noblemen and gentlemen, and how many works and properties belong unto such, and wherein their office chiefly standeth. In the second part he showed great diseases were in the nobility and gentry, which letted them from doing their office. In the third part he specified what the diseases were, as, namely, the whole palsy, the dropsy, the Romish pox, and the leprosy; showing afterwards the remedy against these diseases. For, being a very facetious man, he delivered his reproofs and counsels under witty and pleasant discourse. He wrote also 'The Hunting of the Romish Fox.' Having been formerly abroad, he took up his abode in Germany, Rome, and finally at Basle, during the reign of Mary." *

William Turner, M.D.

THOMAS BECON was one of three ministers sent for by Mary's council, and committed to the Tower, where for six months he endured a miserable imprisonment. To conceal himself in these dangerous times, he went by the name of Theodore Basil, "*skulking about*," as Strype says, till he saved his life by flight. At a much earlier period, indeed,

Thomas Becon committed to the Tower.

* Memorials of Cranmer, b. ii. c. 28, b. iii. c. 15.

BOOK II.
CHAP. III.

he had been forced by Bonner to recant, and to burn his books, and was obliged to wander as a tutor to private families in Derbyshire, Staffordshire, and Leicestershire; but afterwards he was promoted by Cranmer, and in the reign of Edward he was highly esteemed as Professor of Divinity at Oxford. From the place of his exile, in Germany, he wrote an epistle "To certain Godly Brethren in England," which, we are told by Strype, was "read by the brethren in their religious meetings, and not without fruit." *

He continued abroad until the accession of Elizabeth.

David
Whitehead,
B.D.

DAVID WHITEHEAD, B.D., "a great light of learning, and a most heavenly professor of divinity of his time," † was one of four divines mentioned by Cranmer to Mr. Secretary Cecil, as persons worthy and willing to fill several vacant bishoprics in Ireland, for the propagation of the gospel in that dark region. Of all the four he says he thought "they, being ordinarily called, for conscience' sake would not refuse to bestow the talent committed to them where-soever it should please the King's Majesty to appoint them;"—and of Whitehead, whom he judged the fittest of the four, he testifies, "that he was endowed with good knowledge, special honesty, fervent zeal, and polite wisdom." Whitehead, however, was not the person chosen, but Richard Turner, though he declined the office, which devolved on Hugh Goodacre.

Thomas Leaver,
B.D.

THOMAS LEAVER, B.D., ‡ is introduced by Strype as "a learned and grave man," who was sent by the head of St. John's College, Cambridge, to the Archbishop, to explain some unpleasant circumstances occasioned by the imprudent zeal of a young student; and in the following year he speaks of Leaver and Hutchinson as "two learned fellows of the House," engaged in a controversy, which made a great noise in the University, respecting the Lord's Supper. || He was one of the preachers, (the others were

* This letter is in the collection of his works.

† Holland's *Heroologia Anglia*, p. 195.

‡ Thomas Leaver is spoken of by Bale (*de Scriptoribus Britannicis*, cent. ix. no. 86.) as born in Lancashire, where his family and name still remain at two well-known villages called Lever. He was a *sower of virtues in all gentleness*. The name, like many others of that age, is not always spelled in the same way, sometimes Lever: his own signature seems to have been *Leaver*.

|| Strype's *Cranmer*, p. 163.

Latimer, Bradford, and Knox,) of whom Bishop Ridley said:—"they ripped so deeply into the galled backs of the great men at court, to have purged them of the filthy matter festered in their hearts, as insatiable covetousness, filthy carnality, voluptuousness, intolerable pride, and ungodly loathsomeness, to hear poor men's cases and God's word,—that they could never abide them above all others." *

BOOK II.
CHAP. III.

While Ridley was in prison, he received a letter from Grindal, (afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury,) then visiting the exiles at Frankfort, in which, among other things, he gave him an account of the state of the English refugees at Zurich, Strasburg, Friesland, and Frankfort. To this letter Ridley replied. In one passage of the reply he says:—"To hear that you and our other brethren do find in your exile favour and grace with the magistrates, ministers, and citizens at Tigury, (Zurich) Frankfort, and other places, it doth greatly comfort (I dare say) all here that do indeed love Christ and his true word. I ensure you it warmed my heart to hear you by chance to name some, as Scory and Cox, &c. Oh! that it had come in your mind to have said somewhat also of Cheke, of Turner, of *Leaver*, of Sampson, of Chambers; but I trust in God they be all well." †

Correspondence of Ridley and Grindal.

In the Harleian Collection in the British Museum, there are some interesting papers of *Leaver's*, highly illustrative of the state of the times. ‡

Leaver's papers.

One or two of these are given by Mr. Brook in the first volume of his *Lives of the Puritans*. ||

During *Leaver's* exile he resided as pastor of the English Church at Aarau, in the Swiss canton of Aargau, and from thence he visited Bullinger, Calvin, and other eminent Protestants in that country, and kept up a correspondence with his fellow-countrymen suffering imprisonment at home, or exiled for their religious principles.

WILLIAM WHITTINGHAM, A.M., of whom we shall have more to say in the course of this chapter, had not long returned from his travels through France, Germany, and Italy, when the storm of Mary's persecution drove him to Frankfort.

William Whittingham, A.M.

* Strype's Parker, p. 211.

† Fox's Acts, vol. iii. p. 374.

‡ Harleian Collection, no. 7018. Baker's MSS. || Pp. 214-217.

BOOK II.

CHAP. III.

Anthony
Gilby.

ANTHONY GILBY is mentioned by Fuller as one of the "fiery and furious" Puritans, because, like some of the best of the Reformers, he laboured after greater purity, and because, in his "View of Antichrist, his Lawes and Ceremonies in our English Church, Unreformed," he denounced more boldly than many others the remaining corruptions of the Church. He was a man of extraordinary learning. We shall presently hear of him again.

Fox, the
martyrolo-
gist.

JOHN FOX. The life of this great martyrologist is prefixed to his stupendous work, "The Acts and Monuments." Born at Boston, Lincolnshire, in 1517, he became Fellow of Magdalene College, Oxford, at an early age, when he distinguished himself by his poetic taste, and his bigoted attachment to Popery. At the age of thirty he had read all the Fathers, both Greek and Latin, all the decrees of council, and the entire body of the scholastic philosophy and theology. He was expelled from the university as a heretic when he was about thirty-eight, for his courageous profession of the gospel, as taught by the Reformers. After much tossing about he found a peaceful home in the family of the Duchess of Richmond, as tutor to the children of the Earl of Surrey. From this retreat he was driven by the persecution of Bishop Gardiner to Flanders. After spending a short time in Frankfort, he settled at Basle, where he lived by correcting the press, and where he formed the plan of his immortal work.—We may have occasion in our progress to mention ROBERT CROWLEY, A.M., a native of Gloucestershire, or (according to Fuller) of Northamptonshire.* After spending a few years at Oxford, he was at the same time a preacher, and a printer and bookseller in London. At the accession of Mary he was one of those who fled to Frankfort.

Lawrence
Humphrey,
D.D.

LAWRENCE HUMPHREY, D.D., a native of Newport Pagnel, received his education at both Cambridge and Oxford, and was permitted by the head of his college, Magdalene, Oxford, to go abroad. Anthony Wood, quoting the register of the acts of the college, says:—"In the opinion of all, he was much commended for his life and conversation, and for the excellency of his learning and wit; that he might freely, for the cause of study, travel into trans-

* Worthies of England, part ii. p. 290.

marine parts for one year, conditionally that he contain himself from those places that are suspected to be heretical or favourers of heresy, and that also he refrain from the company who are or were authors of heresy or heretical opinions, &c. Which leave being procured, he went forthwith to Zurich, and associated himself with the English exiles there that had fled from the nation for religion's sake. After the death of Queen Mary, he returned to his college, and was restored to his fellowship, having been expelled thence because he did not return thereunto, when his time of leave was expired. . . . From the city of Zurich (remarkable for the preaching and death of Zwinglius) and the correspondence that he had with Geneva, he brought back with him on his return into England, so much of the Calvinian both in doctrine and discipline, that the best (query, the worst?) that could be said of him is, that he was a moderate and conscientious Nonconformist. . . . Humphrey was a great and general scholar, an able linguist, a deep divine; and for his excellency of style, exactness of method, and substance of matters in his writings, he went beyond most of our theologists. An eminent archbishop,* who knew him well, saith that he, (Dr. Humphrey) had read more Fathers than Campion the Jesuit ever saw, devoured more than he (Campion) had ever tasted, and that he had taught more in this university than he (Campion) either had learned or heard."† Dr. Humphrey was the writer of a monody, engraved on the tomb of Bishop Tunstall, in Durham Cathedral.

The intimate friend of Dr. Humphrey, THOMAS SAMPSON, D.D., has been mentioned as the means of the martyr Bradford's conversion; and as having been ordained by Cranmer and Ridley, *without the clerical vestments*. Strype says that he married Latimer's niece. He was preacher in Lord Russell's army in the war with the Scots, in the reign of Edward VI., and "a noted preacher"‡ in London. On the day on which Becon, Bradford, and Veron were sent by Mary to the Tower, Sampson, who to the great disappointment of the bishops could not be found, escaped to Strasburg, "where, wholly applying himself to the study of

Thomas
Sampson,
D.D.

* T. Matthew, Archbishop of York.

† *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. I. pp. 241. 242.

‡ Anthony Wood.

BOOK II.
CHAP. III.

divinity, he was much advanced in the knowledge thereof by his often associating himself with the learned Tremelius.* He was intimately acquainted with most of the learned exiles, and particularly John Jewel, afterwards the celebrated Bishop of Salisbury. By the joint advice of Dr. Sampson, Dr. Edward Sandys and Mr. Richard Chambers, Jewel was induced, soon after his arrival on the continent, to make a public confession of his sorrow for his late subscription in favour of Popery. Sampson, during his exile, was concerned in writing and publishing the Geneva translation of the Bible.”†

The Exiles at
Frankfort.

All the ecclesiastical histories of this period refer to the proceedings of the English exiles at Frankfort, and their views of those proceedings are manifestly influenced by their own opinions and attachments. The historical document relating to them, consulted by all parties, is, “A Briefe Discourse of the Troubles begun at Frankeford, in Germany, An. Dom. 1554, About the Booke of Common Prayer, and Ceremonies, and continued by the Englishmen there, to the end of Queen Mary’s reign: in the which discourse the gentle reader shall see the very originall and beginning of all the contention that hath been there, and what was the cause of the same. First published in the yeare 1575; and now reprinted according to the original copy *verbatim*. Humbly presented to the view and consideration of the Most Honourable and High Court of *Parliament*; and the Reverend Divines of the intended ensuing Assembly. 1642.”‡

From this “Briefe Discourse” we gather the following facts.

Some of the Protestants who fled from the persecution of Mary,—Edmund Sutton, William Williams, William Whit-

* Wood says that in 1560 the Queen designed him to be Bishop of Norwich: but he altogether refused it, for no other reason, as it was supposed, but that *he was much disaffected to the hierarchy and ceremonies of the Church of England*. Wood.—*Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. i. p. 2380.

† Brook’s *Lives of the Puritans*, vol. i. p. 376.

‡ In the library of Trinity College, Cambridge.—This is a remarkably scarce book,—the first edition I have seen. It was reprinted in the second volume of the *Phoenix*, or a Revival of Scarce and Valuable Pieces, Nowhere to be Found but in the Closets of the Curious, 1708. An edition, reprinted from the original black-letter edition of 1575, with a short introduction, was published in London in 1846, by Mr. John Pethenham, 71, Chancery Lane. The introduction seems to identify Whittingham with the authorship.

tingham, and Thomas Wood, "with their companions,"—repaired to the city of Frankfort-on-Maine, one of the free cities of Germany, June 27, 1554. On the night of their arrival, Valeren Pullan, a French minister, came to their lodging, and told them that he had obtained a church there for the French Protestants, who had been driven from Glastonbury, in England. To this church these English exiles could not join themselves, as but few of them understood the French language. On the following day, having consulted with Monellio, another minister, and Castalio, an elder, of the French Church, they obtained permission from the Magistrates of Frankfort, to have the use of the French church, on condition that they should subscribe to the French Confession of Faith. Not being bound so strictly to the order of service as to the doctrinal creed, it was by general consent agreed that they should worship without the litany, the responses of the English Prayer Book, and the surplice, making some changes in the "confession," and also adopting some of the usages of the Scottish and continental Protestant churches. When they had constituted this church, and chosen ministers and deacons to "serve for a time," they wrote letters to their countrymen at Strasburg, Zurich, and other places on the Continent, urging them to come and share with them the free enjoyment of their religion at Frankfort. Their brethren at Strasburg, supposing that they wanted merely one or two of their number, to take charge of this new congregation, took steps for that purpose. This, however, was not what the men at Frankfort desired. They wished all the English exiles to come; and they had determined already to have the church governed by two or three ministers of equal authority, after the manner of the best Reformed churches. The English Protestants at Zurich, determined to use no other form of worship than that which had been ordered in England by Edward VI., sent one of their number, Edward Chambers, to confer with the church at Frankfort on this subject. The church could not assure the brethren at Zurich of the full use of the English Prayer Book. They had chosen John Knox to be their minister.* Chambers returned to Zurich to persuade his

The Church
established
by the Exiles
at Frankfort.

The Exiles at
Zurich.

* Knox's History of the Reformation, p. 84.

BOOK II.
CHAP. III.Calvin's
judgment of
the English
Prayer book.

friends there to enter into the views of those at Frankfort ; and shortly after he visited them again, accompanied by Edmund Grindal, with a letter from the learned men at Strasburg containing three questions, which not being answered to their satisfaction, they declined for the present the invitation which had been given to them. The church at Frankfort, desiring to have the communion, were willing to follow the order of the church at Geneva in that service. Knox objected to this, without previous consultation with their brethren at Strasburg, Zurich, and other places. In the meantime Thomas Leaver, who had been chosen as one of the ministers of the church at Frankfort, came from Zurich, and proposed a plan for that office to which the church could not consent. Knox, Whittingham, and others, sent in Latin a description of the English Prayer Book to Calvin at Geneva, "requiring his judgment thereon, and showing him that some of their countrymen went about to force them to the same, and would admit no other, saying that it was an order most absolute, and if ever they came into their country they would do their best to establish it again." In Calvin's reply he says that in the Prayer Book there is not the purity that might be desired ; that parts of it are trifling and childish ; that he advises some of them not to be fierce over them whose infirmity will not suffice them to ascend a higher step, and others that they please not themselves too much in their foolishness, also that by their forwardness they do not lett (stop) the course of the holy building ; last of all, lest that foolish vainglory steal them away : for what cause have they to contend, except it be for that they are ashamed to give place to better things." After much debating, the humility of Thomas Gilby, and the modesty of John Knox prevailed, and an order was agreed upon for a time, "some parte taken forth of the English Booke, and other things put to, as the state of the church required." * It was likewise agreed that if any dispute should arise it should be referred to Calvin, Musculus, Martyr, Bullinger, and Viret. "This day was joyful. Thankes were given unto God, brotherly reconciliation followed, great familiarity used, the former grudges seemed to be forgotten. Yea, the

* Knox's History of the Reformation, p. 21.

holy communion was upon this happy agreement also administered."*

The harmony of the church was at length disturbed by Dr. Richard Cox, who came to Frankfort on the 13th March, 1555. Contrary to the order settled in the church, he answered aloud after the minister.† The elders admonished him; he and his companions said they would do as they had done in England, and they would have the face of an English church.‡ On the Sunday after, one of Cox's company, without the consent or knowledge of the congregation, ascended the pulpit, and read the litany, to which Cox and the rest of his party gave the responses aloud. In the afternoon of the same day, Knox sternly condemned this violation of order, which he said, "became not the proudest of them all to have attempted." When the church met on the following Tuesday, the admission of Cox and his party was objected to; but at Knox's generous, yet scarcely wise, entreaty, the objections were waived by a majority of the members, and they were received. When admitted, "Dr. Cox *forbade* Knox to meddle any more in the congregation." Next day Whittingham laid the case before the magistrate, through whom they had obtained permission to found the church, and the magistrate made an arrangement to which Cox and Leaver on one side, and Knox and Whittingham on the other, were to agree on some good order, and report to him. But by Cox's zeal for the *matins*, they were prevented from coming to an agreement. The congregation then addressed a supplication to the magistrates in Latin, explaining the cause of their troubles, and requesting that the matter might be referred to the five learned divines formerly mentioned. The magistrate before referred to came to the church, requiring them to conform to the order of the French church, that being the original condition of the privileges

BOOK II.

CHAP. III.

The English
Liturgy at
Frankfort.

* Knox's History of the Reformation, p. 51.

† Dr. Cox had been almoner to King Edward VI., chancellor of the university of Oxford, Dean of Westminster, one that had a chief hand in composing the English liturgy; which made him very impatient of such innovations—amounting to no less than a total rejection of it, as he found among them. By his authority and appointment the English litany is first read. Aerius Redovius, p. 240. Dr. Tiezler forgets to say *who gave* Dr. Cox that *authority* in the church at Frankfort.

‡ The Lord grant it to have the face of Christ's Church, (says Knox, in an account which he drew up of these transactions;) and therefore I would have had it agreeable in outward rites and ceremonies with Christian churches reformed.—Cald. MS., vol. i. p. 249.

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CHAP. III.

Knox leaves
Frankfort.

granted to them, and declaring that those who refused to conform to that order, should leave the city. To this Cox, Leaver, and Whittingham expressed their consent, in the name of the church. But the peace thus apparently secured was soon broken by the party of Cox, who accused Knox of treason against the Emperor, on account of which, the Emperor's council being then at Augsburg, the magistrates of Frankfort deemed it prudent to intimate to Knox privately that he should leave their city. Knox took leave of his friends in a "most comfortable sermon," and the following morning, many of those who had heard him accompanied him three or four miles on his way, and "with great heaviness of heart, and plenty of tears, committed him to the Lord."* After Knox's departure, Cox, through the influence of a lawyer related to the magistrate by whom the exiles were at first befriended, gained his object, by obtaining an order from the magistrates for the use of King Edward's liturgy, and forcing Whittingham, Fox, Cole, and others to retire from the church which they had thus planted. "Not many days after, the oppressed church departed from Frankfort to Basle and Geneva, some staying at Basle with Master Fox and another. The rest came to Geneva, where they were received with great favour and much courtesy both of the magistrates, ministers, and people. So soon as they entered their church they chose Knox and Goodman for their pastors, and Gilby was requested to supply the room of Fox till Knox returned out of France."

Churches of
Geneva and
Frankfort.

This church "lived in great harmony and love, until the storm of persecution in England blew over, at the death of Queen Mary, while those who remained at Frankfort, as if to expiate their offence against Knox, continued a prey to endless contention. Cox and his learned colleagues having accomplished their favourite object, soon left them to compose the strife which they had excited, and provided themselves elsewhere with a less expensive situation for carrying on their studies."†

* Knox's History of the Reformation, p. 38.

† M'Crie's Life of Knox, vol. i. p. 157. The church which was the scene of these troubles, is "The White Lady Church," originally an hospital or cloister, dedicated to "the blessed Mary Magdalene," A.D. 1142, by Viger, Bishop of Brandenburg. In 1542, Andrew Cephalus is mentioned as the first evangelical preacher in the White Lady Cloister. In that year, and again two years after, Johann von Glanburg was one of the magistrates deputed to take care of this

These "troubles at Frankfort" contain *the germ of all that afterwards happened between the Puritans and the Conformists in England*. They show the spirit of the parties whose contests we shall have to describe in the following chapters of this work. If the *conforming* party could show so unbending a devotion to mere ceremonies, *while exiles in a foreign land*, and such an overbearing haughtiness in opposition to the laws of the government which protected them, what might be expected from them in their own country, when they were supported by the imperious authority of the British sovereign? These troubles also show that remarkable mixture of firmness with meekness, and of human imperfection with a tender conscience, by which the members of the original English church at Frankfort were prepared for the trials that awaited them on their return to their own land.

BOOK II
CHAP. III.

Devotion to
ceremonies
in exile.

The exiles at Wesel were exposed to trouble, because they differed on some points from the Augustan Confession; and they would have been banished from the city, but for the interposition of Melancthon. At Zurich they were received with great hospitality by Bullinger, and they employed themselves in study, writing books, teaching, and superintending the press. At Embden they translated Cranmer's book on the sacrament into Latin, and printed it, with a preface. They also printed other books favouring the principles of the Reformation, which were distributed in England. At Geneva, "a club of them" employed themselves in translating the Bible into English, in which they were assisted by Calvin and Beza. At Basle, "many poor scholars made shift to subsist in these hard times," by their peculiar care and diligence in correcting the press for the eminent printers of that city. At Strasburg, Jewel, Poynt, Grindal, Land, Sir John Cheke, Sir Anthony Cook, and other knights, gentleman, and divines, attended the martyrs' public readings in divinity.

The Exiles at
Wesel. Zurich,
Emden,
Geneva, &c.

"It may be inquired, how these exiles were maintained, considering the great numbers of them, and the poverty of

Their means
of subsistence.

hospital. He is the magistrate mentioned as befriending the English exiles, in the foregoing narrative. In the summer of 1847, I had the privilege of worshipping in the White Lady Church, now used by the Lutherans, as well as in the French Church. During my stay at Frankfort, I had the opportunity of consulting the *Chronicles of Frankfort*, by Lersner, and extracting from it the information which is here given.

BOOK II. many? God stirred up the bowels of the abler sort, both
 CHAP. III. in England, and in the parts where they sojourned, to pity and relieve them, by very liberal contributions conveyed unto them from time to time. From London, especially, came often very large allowances; till Bishop Gardiner, who had his spies everywhere, got knowledge of it, and by casting the benefactors into prison, and finding means to impoverish them, that channel of charity was in a great measure stopped. After this the senators of Zurich, at the notice of Bullinger, their superintendent, opened their treasures unto them. Besides, the great ornaments of religion and learning, Melancthon, Calvin, Bullinger, Gualtier, Lavater, Gesner, and others, sent them daily most comfortable letters, and omitted no duty of love and humanity to them all the time of their banishment. Some of the princes and persons of wealth and estate sent also their benevolences. Among these was Christopher, Duke of Wirtemberg, who gave at one time to the exiled English at Strasburg three or four hundred dollars, besides what he gave at Frankfort, as Grindal, Bishop of London, signified to Secretary Cecil in the year 1563, when that prince had sent a gentleman upon business to the Queen.”*

The noble stand made by the Protestants in this reign was not universal, even among their leaders. Some of them recanted. Jewel, Scory, and Barrow, who were bishops, recanted; but they afterwards made a sorrowful confession in public of their falls. Others continued in the profession of the Roman faith, among these were Bishops Bird and Bush; Harding, the Duke of Suffolk's chaplain; Tyndal

Defaulters
among their
leaders.

* Strype's Cranmer, vol. i. p. 519. "If these congregations be compared together, Embden will be found the richest for substance (these the merchants which bear the bag :) Wesel the shortest for continuance; Aaran the slenderest for number; Strasburg of the most quiet temper; Zurich had the greatest scholars; and Frankfort had the largest privileges." Fuller, Ch. History, 1555. The same writer, quoting "Humphrey's Life of Jewel," mentions the following persons as among the principal contributors to the necessities of the exiles: "Sir John Cheke; Sir Richard Morison, of Castredbury in Hertfordshire; Sir Francis Knolleys, afterwards privy-councillor to Queen Elizabeth; Sir Anthony Cook, father-in-law to Cecil (Lord Burleigh,) and famous for his learned daughters; Sir Peter Carew, renowned for his valour in Ireland, where he died, anno 1576; Sir Thomas Wroth, richly landed at, and nigh Dorance in Middlesex; Dame Dorothy Stafford, afterwards lady of the bed-chamber to Queen Elizabeth; Dame Elizabeth Berkeley; Richard Springham, and John Abel, merchants of London. . . . As for Thomas Eaton, a London merchant, but living in Germany, 'he was,' saith my author, '*communis hospes*,' the host-general of all English exiles: thanks (and that forced on him against his will) being all the *shot* his guests paid at their departure."

and Cartop of Oxford; Pendleton and West. West was a clergyman who had been steward to Bishop Ridley. In the Bishop's letter to Grindal at Strasburg, he says that "his old companion and sometime bed-officer relented, but that the Lord had shortened his days." When Ridley lay in prison West wrote a letter to the Bishop, beseeching him to save his own life by altering his judgment. The Bishop's reply, which is singularly dignified, humble, and touching, concludes with these words: "And because I daresay you wrote of friendship to me, this strict earnest advertisement, and I think verily wishing me to live and not to die; therefore bearing you in my heart no less love in God than you do me in the world, I say to you *in verbo Domini*, that except you, and this (which) I say to you, I say to all my friends and lovers in God, except ye confess and maintain to your power and knowledge things which be grounded upon God's word, but will, either for fear or gain of the world, shrink and play the apostate, indeed you shall die the death. You understand what I mean. And I beseech you and all my true friends and lovers in God, remember what I say. For this, peradventure may be the last time that ever I shall write unto you."*

Besides these apostates, there were not a few† who were induced by terror, or other worldly consideration, to attend the mass, arguing on their own behalf, that their bodies might be there, so long as their spirits did not consent. Among persons of this description we find special mention made of Ann Hartefol, who in the reign of Henry had afforded a refuge to Ann Askew.

SECTION III.—PURITANS AT HOME.

The counties of Norfolk and Suffolk have been already mentioned as having done most to place Mary on the throne, yet as suffering more than any other part of England from her persecutions. The people of these counties having addressed an unavailing petition to the Queen, they formed themselves into separate congregations, which continued to flourish—their numbers being so great, that the bishops could not put

Protestants
of Norfolk
and Suffolk.

* Strype's Cranmer, Appendix, No. lxxxvi.

† Bradford says that "not the tenth person abode in God's ways."

BOOK II.
CHAP. III.

them down. In London there was a private congregation, sometimes amounting to more than 200 persons, superintended by a clergyman of the name of Bentham, in whose church without a steeple "the officers sent to apprehend the offenders were so overset that they thought it to no purpose to seize any single person."*

Congregations in London.

Collier says that Bentham was not the only reformed clergyman who had a congregation in London, for, notwithstanding Bonner's sanguineous temper, the reformed bore up bravely against the persecution, and kept on their religious meetings, though at the utmost hazard. Besides Bentham, this congregation had had for their minister Mr. Scamier, who in the next reign was made Bishop first of Peterborough, and then of Norwich, Mr. Augustine Barnher, and Mr. Thomas Foule, and Mr. John Rough.

John Rough the Scottish Friar.

The history of Mr. John Rough is remarkable. He was born in Scotland, and while young, being disappointed of his inheritance, he joined the black friars in Stirling. Through the favour of the Earl of Arran, then Regent of Scotland, he became chaplain to the Archbishop of St. Andrews. During his abode at St. Andrews, and, as would appear, owing in no small degree to a journey or two which he made to Rome, he was convinced of the errors of Popery, and after his change of views, he preached for four years at Ayr. We afterwards find him at Carlisle, Berwick, and Newcastle, preaching the gospel; and in the reign of Edward VI. enjoying a benefice in the neighbourhood of Hull. When Mary came to the throne, he fled to Norland, in Friesland, where he gained a livelihood by knitting caps, hose, and similar articles. Being in want of yarn for his knitting, he came over to England, where he joined the secret congregation of Protestants now mentioned. He was soon chosen to be a minister in this congregation. Roger Serjeant, a tailor, a false brother, betrayed them, when they held a meeting at the Saracen's Head, Islington; and Rough, together with Cuthbert Simpson, the deacon of the church, and several others, were brought before the Council, and sent to Newgate. The Council wrote a letter respecting these men to Bonner, by whom they were rigidly examined.

* This Bentham was Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry in Elizabeth's reign. Fox, Heylin, Collier, vol. ii. p. 405.

Dr. Watson, Bishop of Lincoln, whose life Rough had saved in the north not long before, assisted Bonner at this examination, when, recognizing Rough, he said, "This is a most pernicious heretic, who has done more hurt in the north than a hundred more of his opinion." "Why, Sir," said Rough, "is this the reward I have for saving your life, when you preached your erroneous doctrine in the reign of King Edward VI.?" He declared that he had been twice at Rome, and had there seen plainly with his eyes what he had many times heard before, namely, that the Pope was the very Antichrist; for there he saw him carried on some men's shoulders, and the false-named sacrament borne before him; yet was there more reverence given to him than to that which they counted to be their God. When Bonner heard this, he rose, as though about to rend his garments. "Hast thou," said he, "been at Rome, and seen our holy father the Pope, and dost thou blaspheme him after this sort!" Then, flying upon Rough, he plucked off part of the good man's beard, and condemned him to be burned to death next morning. This event was not unexpected by the martyr. A short time before, he had witnessed the burning of Ralph Allerton, Richard Roth, and James and Margaret Anstoo. On his way home, he met a Mr. Farrar, a merchant of Halifax, who asked him where he had been. "I have been," said he, "where I would not for one of mine eyes but I had been." "Where have you been?" "Forsooth, to learn the way;" so he told him he had been at the burning of Anstoo, where, shortly after, he was burned himself.*

Condemned
to be burned.

In his letter to some friends written in Newgate, "in haste, on the day of my condemnation," after a description of his own spiritual conflict and victory, he says—"The holy ones have been sealed with the same mark. It is no time, for the loss of one man in the battle, for the camp to turn back. Up with men's hearts. Blow down the daubed walls of heresy. Let one take the banner, and the other the trumpet. I mean not to make corporeal resistance; but, pray; 'and ye shall have Elijah's defence, and Elisha's company to fight for you.' The cause is the Lord's. Now, my brethren, I can write no more. Time will not suffer. And

Letter to his
friends from
Newgate.

BOOK II
CHAP. III.

my heart with pangs of death is assaulted; but I am at home with God,—yet alive ! Pray for me, and salute one another with a holy kiss. The peace of God rest with you all. Amen !” Thus, with beautiful Christian humility and gentleness, he writes to the congregation :—“ Yet I have not done what I should have done ; but my weakness I doubt not is supplied by the strength of Jesus Christ ; and your wisdoms and learning will accept the small talent which I have distributed unto you (as I trust) as a faithful steward. And what was undone, impute that to frailty and ignorance, and *with your love cover that which is and was naked in me.* God knoweth ye are all tender unto me. *My heart bursteth for the love of you.* Ye are not without the great pastor of your soul, who so loveth you, that if men were not to be sought out, (as, God be praised ! there is no want of men,) he would cause stones to be ministers unto you. Cast your care on that Rock : the wind of temptation shall not prevail : fast and pray ; for the days are evil. Look up with your eyes of hope ; for the redemption is not far off, (but my wickedness hath deserved that I shall not see it.) And, also, that which is behind of the blood of our brethren, which shall also be laid under the altar, shall cry for your relief. Time will not suffer me now to write longer letters. The Spirit of God guide you “ in and out,” rising and sitting ; cover you with the shadow of his wings ; defend you against the tyranny of the wicked ; and bring you happily to the post of eternal felicity, where all tears shall be wiped from your eyes, and you shall always abide with the Lamb ! ”

Cuthbert
Simpson.

CUTHBERT SIMPSON had laboured hard, as a deacon, in Rough's congregation, to preserve the little flock from persecution. In a letter to some friends, he describes his apprehension ; his refusal to betray his brethren ; his being set on an iron rack for three hours ; his having a small arrow drawn through his two forefingers closely bound, so fast that the blood followed, and the arrow brake ; and his receiving the Pope's curse for bearing witness of the resurrection of Jesus Christ. Bonner said of him in his consistory to the people :—“ Ye see this man, what a personable man he is ; and furthermore, concerning his patience, I say unto you, that if he were not an heretic, he is a man of the

greatest patience, that yet ever came before me ; for I tell you, he hath been thrice racked, upon one day, in the Tower. Also, in my house, he hath felt some sorrow ; and yet I never saw his patience broken.” From the Coal House of Bishop Bonner, this Nonconforming deacon thus writes to his wife :—“ It is either a correction for our sins, or a trial of our faith, or to set forth *His* glory, or for all together ; and, therefore, must needs be well done : for there is nothing that cometh to us by fortune, or chance, but by our heavenly Father’s providence. And therefore, pray unto our heavenly Father, that he will ever give us his grace to consider it. Let us give him hearty thanks for these his fatherly corrections ; for as many as he loveth he correcteth. And I beseech you, now, be of good cheer ; and count the cross of Christ greater riches than all the vain pleasures of England. I do not doubt, (I praise God for it,) but that you have supped with Christ at his Maunday.* I mean, believe in him, for that is the effect ; and then must you drink of his cup, I mean his cross, (for that doth the cup signify unto us.) Take the cup with a good stomach in the name of God ; and then shall you be sure to have the good wine, Christ’s blood, to thy poor thirsty soul. And when you have the wine, you must drink it out of this cup. Learn this, when you come to the Lord’s Supper. Pray continually. In all things give thanks. In the name of Jesus shall every knee bow. Cuthbert Simpson.”

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CHAP. III.
His suffer-
ings.

He finished his testimony with Mr. Hugh Fox, and Mr. John Devenish, members of the same church, in the flames of Smithfield. Burnt at Smithfield.

Among the many Protestants who escaped, sometimes in a most remarkable way, we must not pass by the “Story” of Thomas Rose, which is given at great length by Fox.†

“Mr. Rose was a native of Exmouth, in Devonshire Thomas Rose
About the time that Latimer began to preach the gospel at Cambridge, Rose was inveighing against purgatory and praying to saints and images at Hadleigh, in Suffolk. His sufferings were very great until he was released at one time by Audley, the Lord Chancellor ; and at another time by

* The Thursday before Easter. The *maund*, or basket, contained the gifts of the King or Queen, according to ancient custom, on that day.

† Acts and Monuments, vol. iii. p. 783.

BOOK II.
CHAP. III.

the Earl of Sussex ; and in the reign of Edward VI., he held the living of West Ham, near London. As he lost his living at the King's death, he became the minister of one of the secret congregations in London. After many narrow escapes for his life, he, with thirty-five others, was betrayed, at a house in Bow Church Yard. The rest of the party were committed to prison. Rose was examined by Gardiner. From the long reports of this examination, preserved by Fox, besides two examinations, before Hopkins, Bishop of Norwich, Sir W. Woodhouse, and others, the following graphic scene between Gardiner and Rose is worthy of remembrance :—

His examination.

“ *Rose*.—It maketh me to marvel, my Lord, that I should be thus troubled for that which, by the word of God, hath been established, and by the laws of this realm allowed, and by your own writing so notably, in your *booke de vera obedientia*, confirmed.

“ *Gardiner*.—Ah, Sirrah ! hast thou gotten *that* ?

“ *Rose*.—Yea, my Lord, I thank God ; and do confess myself thereby much confirmed . . . Against the Bishop of Rome's usurped authority no man hath said further. And, as I remember, you confess in it, that when this truth was revealed unto you, you thought the scales to fall from your eyes.

“ *Gardiner*.—Thou liest like a varlet. There is no such thing in my book. But I shall handle thee, and such as thou art, well enough. I have long looked for thee, and at length have caught thee. I will know who be thy maintainers, or else I will make thee a foot longer.

“ *Rose*.—My Lord, you shall do as much as pleaseth God, and no more. Yet, the law is in your hand. But, I have *God* for my maintainer, and none other.”

At these words, one of the servants said, “ My Lord, I heard this man preach, by Norwich, at Sir John Robster's house ; and in his prayer, he desired God to turn Queen Mary's heart, or else to take her out of the world ; and this was in King Edward's time.

“ *Rose*.—My Lord, I made no such prayer ; but next after the King I prayed for her after this sort, saying, ‘ Ye shall pray for my lady Mary's grace, that God will vouchsafe to endue her with his Spirit, that she graciously may

perceive the mysteries contained within his holy laws, and to render unto him her heart purified with true faith, and true loyal obedience to her sovereign lord and king, to the good example of the inferior subjects.' And this, my Lord, is already answered in mine own hand-writing to the Council."

Mr. Rose's examination before the Bishop of Norwich is given in his own words :

"After I was presented by my keeper, the Bishop immediately asked me what I was. I told him I had been a minister.

"*Bishop.*—What is this to the purpose ? Were ye a friar, or a priest ?

"*Rose.*—Friar was I never ; but a priest have I been, and beneficed by the King's majesty. . . .

"*Bishop.*—Well you are sent to me to be examined. What say you ? *Will you submit yourself to the order of the Church of England ?*

"*Rose.*—My Lord, I hope I am not out of the order of *Christ's Church in England.*

"*Bishop.*—Well, Father Rose, whatsoever hath been done in times past, shall not now be called in question, so that you now submit yourself ; if ye will be accounted for an Englishman, ye must submit yourself.

"*Rose.*—I *am* an Englishman born ; and do most humbly require of the Christian congregation of England, to be counted as a particular member of the same, and with all due reverence submit myself as in the form and manner following, that whatsoever law or laws shall be set forth in the same for the establishment of Christ's true religion, and that according to the faith and doctrine of the holy patriarchs and prophets, Jesus Christ, and his holy apostles, with the faithful fathers of Christ's primitive Church, I do not only hold it and believe in it, but also, most reverently obey it. At which, my assertion, the Bishop seemed to be greatly rejoiced, and said, 'Well then, we shall soon be at a point.'"

In another examination by the Bishop of Norwich and his Chancellor, in the presence of a great part of the city, the Chancellor said, "You do but feign."

"*Rose.*—The fault then, shall be in yourself, and not in me : for if ye burthen me with nothing but Scriptures, and

BOOK II. the fathers of Christ's primitive Church, then, as I said before, so I say again, I shall most gladly obey.
 CHAP. III.

"*Chancellor.*—Well then, seeing you challenge to be a member of the Church of England, your mother here, for a trial of obedience provoketh (calleth) you, as mothers are wont to allure you, to receive this little gift at her hand.

"*Rose.*—Forsooth, if she offer it to me as received of God, my Father, I shall gladly receive it as from the hand of my true and ghostly mother.

"*Chancellor.*—What say you to ear confession? Is it not a law ecclesiastical, and necessary for the Church of England?

"*Rose.*—Some ways it might be permitted, and some ways not; and that because it had not its original of God and his blessed word; and yet I deny not but that a man being troubled in his conscience, and resorting to a discreet, sober, and Christian learned man, for the quieting of his mind, might well be permitted; but, to bind a man, under pain of damnation, once every year to number his sins into the ears of a filthy, lecherous priest, is not of God, neither can be approved by his word.

"*Bishop.*—Ah! Sirrah! ye will admit nothing but Scripture, I see well.

"*Rose.*—No, truly, my Lord; I admit nothing but Scripture for the regiment of the souls. . . .

. . . At his last appearance before the Bishop, after a long discourse respecting the sacrament, the Bishop ended with taking him by the hand and saying:

"Father Rose, you may be a worthy instrument in God's Church, and we will see to you at our coming home."

After the Bishop's departure to visit his diocese, Rose lay concealed for a month in a friend's house. He says, "The Bishop sent for a conjuror to know of him which way I was gone, and he answered that I was gone over a water, and in the keeping of a woman. And, in very deed, I was passed over a small water, and was hid by a blessed and godly woman, (which lived in a poor cottage,) the space of three weeks, till all the great heat was over." He found his way to London, and fled to the continent; where he remained till the death of Queen Mary.*

His escape

* Fox. The story of Thomas Rose, yet living, a preacher, at the age of 76 years, in the town of Luton, and county of Bedford.

SECTION IV.—CARDINAL POLE.

Queen Mary died, aged forty-two, on the 17th November, 1558, during the celebration of mass in her chamber. Her friend and kinsman, Reginald Pole, who had long been confined with a fever, survived her only twenty-four hours. We have not had much occasion, hitherto, to mention this eminent churchman, though he figures largely in the histories of that age. He was a very exemplary person. Nothing could be more regular, and better guarded, than his conduct. The retiredness of his temper, and his inclination for study, did not govern him so far as to make him unfit for public business. He was of a modest, unpretending behaviour; and his good nature made him willing to overlook the advantages of his birth and station.* However, the style of his family, and his figure on public occasions, was not unbecoming his quality. Notwithstanding his interest at court, he never solicited the Queen on his own behalf. He declined the opportunities of enriching himself by his legantine character: would neither accept presents nor suffer his servants to receive any; and, as for the surplusage of his revenues, he turned it to charity, and pious uses. As to the prosecutions of the *reformed*, the Cardinal seems to have been overruled in his temper, and gone off in some measure from those gentle methods he had formerly recommended. Whether he was overset by the court of Rome, and gave way, for the Pope's satisfaction, is somewhat uncertain. But let that be as it will, it is certain he cannot be excused from being concerned in the persecution.

He gave a commission for the trial of Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, at Oxford, and he connived at the cruelties of Harpsfield, and Thornton, in his own diocese.†

* His mother and the mother of Henry VIII. were cousins.

† Collier, vol. ii. p. 406.

BOOK II.

CHAP. III.

Death of
Queen Mary

Cardinal
Pole

His charac-
ter.

CHAPTER IV.

REIGN OF ELIZABETH.

A. D. 1558—1623.

BOOK II.

CHAP. IV.

Queen Elizabeth.

THE History of the Puritans during the glorious reign of this great monarch, naturally divides itself into two unequal portions; one embracing the first twelve years; and the other extending through the last twenty-six years of that period. The ground of this division is plain. During the earlier of these years, the objections of the Puritans were made against certain forms and ceremonies of the Church of England; but during those which followed, an opposition was raised against the constitution and government of the Church, which, according to their view, pressed so arbitrarily on the consciences of men.

SECTION I.—THE FIRST PERIOD.—PURITANISM UNDER ELIZABETH.

Joy on her accession.

The ecclesiastical proceedings of Elizabeth's government may be supposed to be familiar to the readers of ordinary English history; yet a general survey of them is necessary for bringing to light the character of the Puritan leaders. The accession of this Princess, after the terrible persecutions of her sister's reign, was hailed by the Reformers with hopes as natural as they were sanguine. But the same outward course of affairs went on as in the preceding reign. All innovations in religion were strictly forbidden. To prevent disputes, all parties were ordered, by royal proclamation, to abstain from preaching, and from using any public prayers but those appointed by the laws, until the meeting of parliament. The new parliament was in favour of the Reformation. A public dispute was held in Westminster Abbey, by the Queen's appointment, between nine Popish, and nine Protestant divines,* on the use of an unknown

* Those on the Popish side were, White, Bishop of Winchester; Bayn, Bishop of Lichfield; Scott, Bishop of Chester; Wilson, Bishop of Lincoln; Dr. Cole, Dean of St. Paul's; Dr. Harpsfield, Archdeacon of Canterbury; Dr. Chudsey, Prebendary of St. Paul's; Dr. Langdale, Archdeacon of Lewis.—On

tongue, in public worship ; on the power of every church to choose such ceremonies as were edifying ; and on the sacrifice of the mass. The conference was broken up, on the first day, by the Popish bishops, when they saw that the people were against them, on the ground mainly, that the Catholic Church was already established. Two of them, the Bishops of Winchester and of Lincoln, expressed themselves so strongly against the Queen and the Privy Council, that they were sent to the Tower.

BOOK II.
CHAP. IV.

Having thus conquered the Catholic party, the next object was to secure uniformity among the Protestants. The liturgy of Edward was revised ; and alterations were made to render the service more acceptable to the Papal party.* Both houses of parliament passed an act of supremacy ; and one for the *Uniformity of Common Prayer, and service in the Church, and administration of the Sacraments*. An act which the Queen declared to the Archbishop she would not have sanctioned, but for a clause which reserved to herself *the power to make whatever alterations she might approve*.

The overthrow of the Catholic party.

Then arose to power the famous *Court of High Commission*, having the authority enjoyed by Cromwell in the reign of Henry VIII., "to visit, reform, redress, order, correct and amend all errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, contempts, offences, and enormities whatsoever." When the oath of supremacy was tendered to the bishops, with the exception of Kitchen, Bishop of Landaff,† they all refused it. Dr. Parker was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury, by some of the bishops who had been ejected during the reign of Mary ; and the other sees were likewise filled by Protestant bishops. Injunctions, similar in most respects to those of King Edward, were issued by the Queen, which "her loving subjects were truly to observe and keep," under heavy penalties for disobedience. These arrangements for externals were soon followed by *a declaration of articles of religion*, which assumed, in the convocation, the form in which they now appear in the Book of Common Prayer ;

The Court of High Commission.

Archbishop Parker

the Protestant side, Dr. Storey, late Bishop of Chichester ; Dr. Cox, late Dean of Westminster ; Mr. Horn, late Dean of Durham ; Mr. Elmar, late Archdeacon of Stow ; Mr. Whitehead ; Mr. Grindal ; Mr. Guest ; and Mr. Jewel. The speeches at this conference are given, at great length, by Collier, vol. ii. book vi. part 2.

* Collier, vol. ii.

† Campden calls this bishop "the calamity of his see." Eliz. p. 36

BOOK II.
CHAP. IV.

though subscription to them was not required by law until nine years after. The bishops, however, used their most vigorous efforts to secure subscription from the great body of the clergy.

Nonconformity.

Among the clergy, and indeed, throughout the nation, there were several parties who refused to subscribe. Passing by the Romanists with simply remarking that out of 9400 clergy, not more than about 240 resigned their livings, we proceed to record the principles of the Puritans, their conduct, and the consequences to themselves, and to the nation. The principles of the Puritans were few and simple. While they took the oath of supremacy as excluding all foreign jurisdiction in this realm, and offered no objection to the doctrines of the Church, they had scruples respecting the conformity which was required of them in outward habits and forms. These forms and habits were confessedly and purposely retained from the ancient superstition. They had been laid aside by all the other Reformed Churches throughout Europe. They had been strongly objected to by most of the Reformers, even by several of those who were now bishops. It appears by the letters of these bishops to Bullinger, that they preserved the ancient habits rather in compliance with the Queen's inclinations than out of any liking to them. Jewel, in a letter bearing date the 8th February, 1566, writes that he wishes the vestments, together with all the other remnants of Popery, might be thrown both out of their churches and out of the minds of the people; and he laments the Queen's "*fixedness to them*," so that she would suffer no change to be made. And in January of the same year, Sandys, Bishop of Worcester, writes to the same purpose: "Disputes are now on foot concerning the Popish vestments, whether they should be used or not; but God will put an end to these things." Horn, Bishop of Winchester, went further: for, in a letter dated 16th July, 1565, he writes of "the Act Concerning the Habits" with great regret, and expresses some hopes that it might be repeated next session of Parliament, if the Popish party did not hinder it; and he seems to stand in doubt, whether he himself should conform to it, or not—upon which he asks Bullinger's advice. In many other letters of that age, it is asserted that both Cranmer and

Ridley, had intended to procure an act for abolishing the habits ; that they only defended their lawfulness, not their fitness ; and, therefore, they blamed private persons that refused to obey the laws. Grindal, in a letter dated 27th August, 1566, writes, that "all the bishops who had been beyond sea had, at their return, dealt with the Queen to let the matter of the habits fall ; but she was so prepossessed that, *though they had all endeavoured to divert her from prosecuting that matter*, she continued still inflexible. This had made them submit to the laws, and to wait for an opportunity to reverse them." Dr. Cox, Bishop of Ely, whose appearance at Frankfort has been described, in one of his letters concerning his travels, laments the aversion they found in parliament to all the propositions that were made for the reformation of abuses. Dr. Sandys, in a letter to Archbishop Parker says : "How the folks go, I cannot well tell ; but I assure you mine go soberly, and decently, as they offered no price of the Queen's injunctions. For, if *I be under the yoke*, such as pertain to me shall draw in the same yoke with me."*

Pilkington, Bishop of Durham, thus addressed the Earl of Leicester, Chancellor of Oxford : "Consider, I beseech your honour, how that all countries, which have reformed religion, have cast away the Popish apparel with the Pope ; and yet we who would be taken for the best, contend to keep it as a holy relic. Mark, also, how many ministers there be in all countries who are so zealous, not only to forsake the wicked doctrine of Popery, but ready to leave the ministry, and their livings, rather than be like the Popish teachers of such superstitions, either in apparel or behaviour. This realm has such scarcity, that if so many worthy men should be cast out of the ministry for such small matters, many places would be destitute of preachers ; and it would give an incurable offence to all the favourers of God's truth in other countries. Shall we make that so precious which other Reformed Churches esteem as vile ? God forbid !

Disputes
about the
Habits.

. . . Though things may be borne with for Christian liberty's sake, for a time, in hope to win the weak, yet when liberty is turned to necessity, it is *evil, and no longer*

* S. rype's Parker, p. 155.

BOOK II. *liberty*; and that which was for winning the weak, is become the confirming the forward."*

CHAP. IV.

Remonstrances of Heads of Colleges.

Some heads of colleges, and persons of character, at Cambridge, thus addressed Cecil, their chancellor: "A report has reached us, that, for the future, all the scholars of this university will be forced to return to the old Popish habits. This is daily mentioned to us by a great multitude of pious and learned men, who affirm, in their consciences, that they think every ornament of this kind is unlawful; and, if the intended proclamation is enforced, they will be brought into the greatest danger. Lest our university should be forsaken, we think it is one of the first duties to acquaint you with this condition of ourselves and our brethren. And by these letters we humbly beg, as well from your wisdom as from your credit and favour with the Queen's majesty, that you would intercede with her to withhold a proclamation of this kind. For, as far as we can see, there can be no danger or inconvenience in exempting us from this burden; but on the contrary, we very much fear, that it will prove a hinderance to the preaching of the gospel and to literature. By your successful application to this, you will no doubt confer a great benefit, not only to us, but on the nation at large.†

Nowel, Dean of St. Paul's, granted the lawfulness of the *habit*: but he moved against the wearing of it, for fear it might open the way to further abuses; he moved, also, for a stronger declaration against superstition; for a fuller assertion of the liberty of the Christian religions, and to put an end to disputes among brethren.‡

WHITTINGHAM, whom we have formerly seen as a leader of the church at Frankfort, and who, on his return home, obtained, through the influence of the Earl of Warwick, the deanery of Durham from the Queen, wrote a most earnest letter to the Earl of Leicester, beseeching him to do all he could to prevent the rigorous enforcement of law respecting

* Strype's Parker. Appendix, No. xxv.

† Strype's Parker. Appendix, No. xxv. Signed by Robert Beaumont, Roger Kelk, Matthew Hutton, Richard Long, with *John Whitgift*. Strype calls them "hot-headed men," and Archbishop Parker termed them "Catalines." Of the latter Strype says: "was very ill taken, and Dr. Beaumont was severely chidden for it—and Whitgift was fain to make his apology; and so that business (howsoever by men well intended) was clashed."—*Life of Whitgift*, p. 9.

‡ Strype's Parker, Collier's Ch. His. vol. ii. p. 498.

Whittingham's opposition to the Vestments.

cleric vestments. The letter is given by Strype, in the appendix to his life of Parker.* “What agreement,” he asks, “can the superstitious inventions of men have with the pure word of God? What edification can there be, when the Spirit of God is grieved, the children of God discouraged, wicked Papists confirmed, and a door opened for such Popish traditions and anti-Christian impiety? And can that be called true Christian liberty, where a yoke is laid on the necks of the disciples, where the conscience is clogged with impositions, where faithful preachers are threatened with deprivation, where the regular dispensation of the word of God is interrupted, where congregations are robbed of their learned and godly pastors, and where the holy sacraments are made subject to superstitious and idolatrous vestments?” After referring to the consent of the fathers in the notion that agreement with idolatry is pernicious, and refuting the plea of policy on behalf of the obnoxious garments, he says:—“If we compel the servants of Christ to conform unto the Papists, I greatly fear we shall return again to Popery. Our case very soon will be deplorable, if such compulsion should be used against us, while so much lenity is used towards the Papists. How many Papists enjoy their liberty and livingst† who have neither sworn obedience to the Queen’s majesty, nor discharged their duty to their miserable flocks. These men laugh and triumph to see us treated thus, and are not ashamed of boasting that they hope the rest of Popery will soon return.‡ My noble Lord, pity the disconsolate churches. Hear the cries and groans of many thousands of God’s poor children, hungering and thirsting after spiritual food. I need not appeal to the word of God, to the history of the

The opinions
of Whitting-
ham on the
Vestments.

* No. xxxvii.

† By the “Act of Assurance,” the archbishops and bishops were empowered to tender the oath of supremacy to their clergy. Archbishop Parker was sensible of the severity of the statute, and that the execution of it would draw an imputation of cruelty upon the bishops. To screen the Papists from suffering, and the bishops from censure, he wrote to his suffragans, with the knowledge of the Queen’s mind, and with the approbation of Secretary Cecil, requesting them to act with great caution and lenity towards the Popish clergy, so that none of them, excepting Bonner, had the oaths of supremacy offered to them. This is a proof of the “lenity” which Whittingham contrasts with the harshness shown to the Puritans.

‡ Strype’s Parker, p. 125. Nowel’s Reproof, Pelyt. MSS., cited by Collier, Ecc. History, vol. iii. pp. 482–484.

BOOK II primitive Church, to the just judgments of God poured out
 CHAP. IV. upon the nations for lack of true reformation.

“Judge ye betwixt us and our enemies; and if we seek the glory of God alone, the enjoyment of true Christian liberty, the overthrow of all idolatry and superstition, and to win souls to Christ, I beseech your honour to pity our case, and to use your utmost endeavours to secure unto us our liberty.”

Proposals of
 the Convoca-
 tion.

The questions most interesting to the Puritans were taken up at the convocation held in St. Paul's in the year 1562. Dr. Sandys, Bishop of Worcester, brought forward a proposal for abolishing baptism by women, and the sign of the cross in baptism ; and also for a committee of bishops and other learned men, to be appointed by the Queen, to draw a scheme for church discipline and government.* A paper, subscribed by thirty-three members of the Lower House, besides requiring the disuse of lay-baptism and the sign of the cross, required the substituting of reading or singing the psalms for chanting ; kneeling at the Lord's Supper to be left to the discretion of the ordinary ; the laying aside of copes and surplices, the same habit to be worn in the desk and in the pulpit ; the censure on Nonconformity be made more gentle ; all festivals, except Sundays and the principal feasts to be abolished ; and the minister to turn his face to the people in common prayer. The dispute on these points in the Lower House of convocation was carried on with much earnestness by both parties. Some of the clergy proposed referring the controversy to the Upper House ; but others protested against any compromise. When they came to the vote, it appears by Strype's account,† that, of the clergy *present*, forty-three were in favour of the changes thus desired, and *thirty-five* disapproved of any alterations ; but as there were only fifteen *proxies* for the changes, and twenty-four against them, the unaltered Book of Common Prayer was carried by a *majority of ONE* ! “Whether the objections of the Puritanical clergy are to be deemed narrow and frivolous, or otherwise, it is inconsistent with veracity to dissemble that the QUEEN ALONE was the cause of retaining those observances to which

The para-
 mount influ-
 ence of the
 Queen.

* Pelyt, MS.

† Annals, vol. i. c. 29. Journal of the Convocation. Burnet, vol. iiii. Records in the Appendix.

the great separation from the Anglican establishment is ascribed. Had her influence been withdrawn, surplices and square caps would have lost their steadiest friend, and several other little accommodations to the prevalent dispositions of Protestants would have taken place. . . . I am far from being convinced that it would not have been practicable, by receding a little from that uniformity which governors delight to prescribe, to have palliated in a great measure, if not put an end for a time, to the discontent that so soon endangered the new establishment. The frivolous usages to which so many frivolous objections were raised, such as the tippet and surplice, the sign of the cross in baptism, the ring in matrimony, the posture of kneeling at the communion, might have been left to private discretion, not possibly, without some inconvenience, but less, as I conceive, than resulted from rendering their observance indispensable. Nor should we allow ourselves to be turned aside by the common reply—that no concessions of this kind would have ultimately prevented the disunion of the Church upon more essential differences than these bigotted ceremonies ; since the science of policy, like that of medicine, must content itself with devising remedies for immediate danger, and can, at best, only retard the progress of that intrinsic decay which seems to be the law of all things human, and through which, every institution of man, like his earthly frame, must one day crumble into ruin.”*

The uniformity prescribed by law was by no means carried out in practice. Though the Queen’s heart was set upon it, and Archbishop Parker, the severest of disciplinarians, had made up his mind to enforce the law with the utmost rigour, the *Puritans* were enlightened, determined, conscientious, and eminently learned men ; they were favoured, to a greater or less extent, by all the bishops ;† they enjoyed the protection of the principal members of the Queen’s Council—Leicester, Walsingham, the Lord Keeper Bacon, Bedford, Warwick, Huntingdon, Sadler, and Knollys.‡

Covert toleration of the Bishops.

Of the Council.

* Hallam’s Constitutional History, chap. iv.

† Strype’s Annals, vol. i. p. 117 ; Oxford edition, vol. ii. p. 641.

‡ Strype’s Parker, pp. 155, 226, 388.

BOOK II.

CHAP. IV.

The agree-
ment of
Foreign
Divines.

They were strong, too, in the concurrence of all the foreign divines of the Reformation, who, whatever variety of opinions they might have on the expediency of conformity *for a while*, strongly denounced the evil of retaining the badges of the superstition which it had cost them so much to renounce.* and they had the popular feeling of prejudice on their side.—“The lay people were growing into an abhorrence of those who wore the habits enjoined, and of the service of God ministered by them. Insomuch that, soon after, numbers of them refused to come to the churches to hear sermons, or to keep the ministers in company or to salute them; nay, as Whitgift in his Defence says, ‘they spat in their faces, reviled them in the streets, and showed such like rude behaviour towards them; and that only because of their apparel.’”†

Resolute op-
position of
the Clergy.

Many of the clergy refused to wear these objectionable habits, assigning, as their reasons, that they were used by the idolatrous priests of Rome;—that they defiled and obscured the priesthood of Christ;—that they increased hypocrisy, and pride;—that they were contrary to scripture:—and that the *enforcement* of them was tyranny.

The Queen's
supremacy.

All this dissatisfaction could not be unknown to the Queen, who, priding herself on her ecclesiastical supremacy above all the prerogatives of the crown, could ill brook the opposition of either clergy or laity, of any degree, to her imperious will. In a letter to Archbishop Parker, dated Jan. 25, 1564, she sternly condemned the variety and contentions, which she ascribed to the negligence of the bishops; expressed her determination to put down all Non-conformity; and strictly charged him to use the strongest measures to maintain through the whole realm the order

* “Their opposition in the use of the surplice was much confirmed and countenanced, as well by the writings as the practice of Peter Martyr, who kept a constant intercourse with Calvin at his being here. For, in his writings, he declared to a friend of his, (who required his judgment in the case) that such vestments, being in themselves indifferent, would make no man godly or ungodly, either by forbearance, or the use thereof; but that he thought it more expedient to the good of the Church, that they and all others of that kind should be taken away, when the next convenient opportunity should present itself; . . . where there is so much contending for mere outward matters there is but little care for true religion. And he assures of himself, (in point of practice) that though he was a canon of Christ Church, and diligent enough in attending the divine service, as the others did, yet he never could be persuaded to use that vestment.” *Derius Redivivus*, p. 241.

† Strype's *Annals*, vol. i. c. 41, p. 460.

and uniformity required by law ; urging him to use all expedition that, hereafter, she might not have occasion to use such sharp proceedings as would not be easily borne by the disobedient. *

BOOK II
CHAP. IV

Within two days the active Archbishop communicated her Majesty's orders to the Bishop of London, (Grindal) charging him to make them known to all the bishops in the province of Canterbury ; and requiring, without delay, the names of all the clergy who refused compliance. The Archbishop himself, with the Bishops of London, Ely, Winchester, Lincoln, and others, sat as ecclesiastical commissioners at Lambeth. Here several of the Nonconforming clergy and members of the universities were summoned before them. Though they exhorted them to obey the orders of the Church, and threatened to deprive them of their livings if they stood out, "this business went on heavily among the bishops, in their several dioceses, but especially in London ; those here that opposed the wearing the habits well knowing that they had the Earl of Leicester, Sir Francis Knollys, and some others, their friends at court and council." †

Proceedings
instituted
against
them.

It is not improbable that the unwillingness displayed by some of the leading men in England to press the Queen's desire for uniformity arose from motives which were independent of any agreement any of them might have in the opinions, or sympathy with the scruples, of the Puritans. There was a danger of the government becoming arbitrary, at a time when it was of the highest importance that the monarch should be popular. In the past history of Elizabeth, there had not been wanting proofs of a disposition which rendered her adherence to the Roman system by no means beyond apprehension. Her consent to the Reformed religion was anything but hearty. During her sister's reign she had gone to mass. She had protested to Count Feria, Philip's ambassador from Spain, that she acknowledged the real presence in the sacrament. She confessed to the Lord Lumac that she sometimes prayed to the Virgin. On her coming to the throne she ordered Sir Edward Karne, her sister's ambassador at Rome, to notify her acces-

Motives for
moderation.

The Queen's
leanings to
Popery.

* Strype's Parker, Appendix to Book ii, where the entire letter is printed.

† Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 462.

BOOK II.
CHAP. IV.

sion to Pope Paul X. The mass was celebrated publicly at her coronation, when the episcopal robes of Bonner were borrowed to add to the splendour of that ceremony. She had ordered changes in the liturgy which were favourable to the religion of Rome. She always expressed an invincible objection to the marriage of the clergy. The domestic use of the Roman ceremonies by persons of rank was allowed. The nonconforming Catholic bishops were treated with respectful indulgence. Pope Pius IV. addressed a letter to the Queen, composed in a gentle and loving style, "offering to confirm the English liturgy, to allow the sacrament in both kinds, and to disannul the sentence against the marriage of her mother, Queen Ann Boleyn, with Henry VIII., if she would acknowledge the Papal authority." * Wealthy Catholics were exempted from the punishments which the law demanded, by annual payments to the Queen's revenue.†

The Crucifix
in her cha-
pel.

For many years, her Majesty persisted, against the judgment of all the Reformers, and to the great scandal of the people, in retaining the crucifix in her chapel, even when crucifixes were broken down, by her own authority, in all the churches and public places.

The great statesmen of that reign could not but look with solicitude on the succession to the throne of England, in the event of Elizabeth's death. The greater part of the higher nobility had shown a determination to support the title of Mary, Queen of Scots.

The exten-
sive adhe-
rence to
Puritan
principles.

With such a prospect, it was not likely that these sagacious rulers could wish to depress the stern conscientiousness of the only class of men on whom they could rely, for resisting the probable attempt at the subversion of the Protestant religion. When it is remembered, as it must be by most well-informed persons, that the principles of the Puritans prevailed among the most thoughtful, religious, and energetic portions of the English community,—among those especially who cared more earnestly than others for

* Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 228.

† Strype's Annals, vols. iii. and iv. It is not forgotten, in these statements, that the Catholics were made to suffer for their religion. This is not the place for proving, what seems undoubted, that, notwithstanding all that has been said by Protestant writers to the contrary, the Catholics were persecuted in Elizabeth's reign; but the Queen *herself* was inclined to indulgence rather than severity, so far as *they* were concerned.

the permanence of the Protestant Reformation,—it will be easy to perceive that the questions raised by the Queen's pertinacity went much deeper, both into religion and into national policy, than the enemies of the Puritans have allowed themselves to fancy. If any evidence of this were wanting it could be amply drawn from the journals of the House of Commons, printed by Sir Simonds D'Ewes.

The expressed opinions of the Continental divines were urged against the Puritans by their opponents, and they have been somewhat unfairly represented by party historians.* They all entertained views of the subjects in dispute which were exactly the same with those of the Puritans *up to the point of resigning the ministry* in the established church. Horne, Bishop of Winchester, wrote (as Strype judges, in the name of the other bishops) to Gualter, a minister of the Church at Zurich, a letter, dated July 17, 1565. In this letter he says—that the law for wearing the square cap and the surplice expressly declared that they were to be worn without any opinion of superstition;—that when this law was passed, they themselves were not bishops;—that the law being passed there was no dispensing with its requirements;—that they conformed, lest the Papists should enter on their functions;—that he hoped part of this act would be repealed in the next parliament;—and that if this hope should be disappointed, it was the opinion of the English bishops that they ought to abide in their ministerial function.

BOOK II.
CHAP. IV.

The opinions
expressed by
the Conti-
nental Di-
vines.

The answer of Gualter to this letter was in favour of the English clergy wearing the habits rather than give up their ministry. At the same time, Gualter and Bullinger kept up a correspondence with Humphrey and Sampson, Puritan leaders, on the one hand, and with the bishops on the other. To the Puritans they wrote *privately*, exhorting them not to push their objections to such extremities as to resign their ministry; and to the bishops, earnestly entreating them to use their influence with the Queen on behalf of their dissenting brethren. There was likewise a letter from Bullinger and Gualter to the Duke of Bedford, urging him to employ his power in the parliament, and with the Queen, in favour of the Nonconformists.

By Gualter
and Bullin-
ger.

Mr. Hallam says that Neale has not reported the matter faithfully.

BOOK II.
CHAP. IV.

From a thorough examination of all these letters, I cannot doubt that the Reformers in general were opposed in their judgment to the *things* imposed on the clergy, and to the *principle* upon which they were imposed; while the greater part of them did not agree with the Puritans in carrying the objections so far as to relinquish office in the establishment rather than comply.*

Dr. Humphrey's return from exile.

Of Dr. Humphrey some mention has been made. On his return from exile he was restored to his fellowship in Magdalene College, Oxford, and appointed public divinity-reader in that university. Mr. Secretary Cecil urged the Queen to appoint him to one of the vacant bishoprics; on which occasion the greatest joy was felt among the most studious men in Oxford. Though the Queen did not appoint him to a bishopric, because of his disobedience to her injunctions, his Nonconformity was connived at; until, in February, 1576, he was induced by the persuasion of Cecil to conform. He was one of those who were cited to appear before the ecclesiastical commission in 1564. Archbishop Parker endeavoured to persuade both him and Sampson to conform, by urging the inconvenience of differences, the authority of the Queen's letters, and the judgment of Bucer and of Peter Martyr in favour of compliance. However, they persisted in their objections. Notwithstanding these objections, Dr. Horn, Bishop of Winchester, presented Humphrey to a living in the diocese of Salisbury, but Jewel, the Bishop of that diocese, wrote to the Archbishop that, "in respect of his (Humphrey's) vain ambition about apparel, he thought best to make a stay, till he understood his grace's pleasure; and that, unless he should otherwise advise him by his letter, he minded not in any wise to receive him: adding, that his long sufferance bred great offence."†

Persuasions to Conformity.

It was during this time that Humphrey joined Sampson in the correspondence with Bullinger which has been re-

* The letters here referred to were copied from the manuscript belonging to the Church at Zurich for the use of Dr. Burnet. The number of letters thus copied was about thirty-six. They are printed in Latin among the Records appended to the Supplement to Bishop Burnet's History of the Reformation. The entire collection is preserved, partly in the archives of the State of Zurich, and partly in the City Library. They have been published, with translations into English, by the Parker Society, 1842.

† Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 464.

ferred to. He also addressed an elegant Latin letter to the Queen, in which he says, "that her Majesty well knew that, in indifferent things contended about, it was lawful for every man to use them, or not to use them, when it might be done without prejudice and offence; and that the liberty of conscience ought not to be restrained; that, whatever was reported to her Majesty against them, he prayed her to remember that saying—*Take heed how you believe*; that, as for his own mind, and obedience to her, not only his word, but his book 'of Nobility,' and that, likewise, of Cyril's Commentary upon Isaiah, by him translated,—both of which works he had dedicated to her,—would amply show it; and the same might be said truly of his brethren; that—since, therefore, what they required was in itself honest, while that which was commanded was dubious, and that they who petitioned were her most loyal subjects, and ministers,—he asked her, 'Why, O Queen, should the mercy which is wont to be open to all others, be closed against us? You are not willing that a prince should yield to subjects; but in your clemency you can spare the wretched. You do not wish to rescind a public decree; yet you can relax, and remit it. You cannot take away a law; yet you might grant toleration. It is not right to give way to men's prejudices; yet it is most just not to force men's minds. Therefore, most illustrious Princess, I do most humbly pray you seriously to consider the majesty of the glorious gospel, the equity of our cause, the fewness of labourers, the greatness of the harvest, the multitude of taxes, the heaviness of the punishment.'" *

BOOK II.

CHAP. IV.

Dr. Humphrey's letter to the Queen.

In 1580 Dr. Humphrey was made Dean of Winchester, which was his last preferment.†

When Dr. Sampson returned home from exile, after the death of Mary, he was informed that there was some in

Dr. Sampson refuses a bishopric.

* The original letter is in Baker's MS. Collection, British Museum; it is printed in Strype's Annals, vol. i. Appendix, no. 27.

† "At length, after Dr. Humphrey had spent most part of his life in a studious and retired condition, though with little comfort of his wife and children, he departed this mortal life on the calends of February, in 1589, aged sixty-three, and was buried at the upper end of the inner chapel of Magdalene College. Soon after was a comely monument set over his grave, in the south wall; which, when the said chapel was adorned, and paved with marble, was removed, and set up on the south wall of the outer chapel.' — Wood's *Athene*, vol. i. pp. 242, 243, second edition.

BOOK II.
CHAP. IV.

tention of making him a bishop ; but, as he had objections to the restraints on the liberty of preachers, and to the superstitions indulged in by the Queen, he opened his mind to Peter Martyr and Bullinger, requesting their advice. The result was that he refused the bishopric of Norwich ; which was accepted by Parkhurst.—Twenty-two members of Christ Church, Oxford, applied to Lord Dudley to induce the Queen to appoint Sampson Dean of that college, urging, that after well considering all the learned men in the country, they found none to be compared to him for singular learning and great piety, having the praise of all men ; and that it was very doubtful whether there was a better man, a greater linguist, a more competent scholar, or a more profound divine. Among the signatures to this letter were those of Lawrence Humphrey, the Regius Professor of Divinity ; James Calphill, the Subdean ; Thomas Francis, the Regius Professor of Physic ; Giles Lawrence, Regius Greek Professor ; and Herbert Westphaling, afterwards Bishop of Hereford.*

Sermon at
Paul's Cross.

In 1662, Sampson preached at Paul's Cross, where "he declared the three former Spital Sermons in Easter Week, as he had done, I think, twice before : being appointed thereunto in regard of his eloquent execution and memory. The aforesaid Dean, so often noted before for his frequent preaching before the Queen, and in other great and honourable assemblies, preached on the festival of the Circumcision, being New Year's Day, at St. Paul's, whither the Queen resorted. Here a remarkable passage happened, and it is recorded in a great man's memorials who lived in those times." †

The Queen's
offence at
the Pictures
of Saints.

The Dean having gotten from a foreigner several fine cuts and pictures representing the stories and passions of the saints and martyrs, had placed them against the epistles and gospels of their festivals in a common prayer-book ; and this book he had caused to be richly bound and laid on the cushion for the Queen's use in the place where she commonly sat ; intending it for a New-Year's gift to her Majesty, and thinking to have pleased her Majesty therewith. But it had not that effect, but the contrary ; for she considered

* Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 474.

† Sir H. Sidney's Memorials, among Archbishop Usher's MSS.

how this varied from her late injunctions and proclamations against the superstitious use of images in churches, and for the taking away all such relics of Popery. When she came to her palace, she opened the book, and perused it, and saw the pictures, but frowned and blushed, and then shut it, (of which several took notice,) and calling the verger, bade him bring her the old book, wherein she was formerly wont to read. After sermon, whereas she was wont to get immediately on horseback, or into her chariot, she went straight to the vestry, and applying herself to the Dean, thus she spake to him :

“ *Queen.*—Mr. Dean, how came it to pass that a new service-book was placed on my cushion ?

Her chiding
of Dean
Sampson for
his New
Year's Gift.

“ *Sampson.*—May it please your Majesty, I caused it to be placed there.

“ *Queen.*—Wherefore did you do so ?

“ *Sampson.*—To present your Majesty with a New-Year's gift.*

“ *Queen.*—You could never present me with a worse.

“ *Sampson.*—Why so, Madam ?

“ *Queen.*—You know I have an aversion to idolatry, to images, and pictures of this kind.

“ *Sampson.*—Wherein is the idolatry, may it please your Majesty ?

“ *Queen.*—In the cuts resembling saints and angels ; nay, grosser absurdities, pictures resembling the blessed Trinity.

“ *Sampson.*—I meant no harm, nor did I think it would offend your Majesty, when I intended it for a New-Year's gift.

“ *Queen.*—You must needs be ignorant then. Have you forgot our proclamation against images, pictures, and Romish relics and the churches ? Was it not read in your deanery ?

“ *Sampson.* It was read. But be your Majesty assured I meant no harm when I caused the cuts to be bound with the service-book.

“ *Queen.* You must needs be very ignorant, to do this after our prohibition of them.

* It was usual for her Majesty to receive such gifts, of which a register was kept.

BOOK II.
CHAP. IV.

"*Sampson.* It being my ignorance, your Majesty may the better pardon me.

"*Queen.* I am sorry for it; yet glad to hear it was your ignorance rather than your opinion.

"*Sampson.* Be your Majesty assured it *was* my ignorance.

"*Queen.* If so, Mr. Dean, God grant you his Spirit, and more wisdom for the future.

"*Sampson.* Amen, I pray God.

"*Queen.* I pray, Mr. Dean, how came you by the pictures? who engraved them?

"*Sampson.* I know not who engraved them, I bought them.

"*Queen.* From whom bought you them?

"*Sampson.* From a German.

"*Queen.* It is well it was from a stranger; had it been any of our subjects, we should have questioned the matter. Pray let no more of these mistakes, or of this kind, be committed within the churches of our realm in future.

"*Sampson.* There shall not."

Destruction
of Paintings
in Churches.

This matter occupied all the clergy in and about London, and the church-wardens of each parish, to search their churches and chapels, and caused them to wash out of the walls all paintings that seemed to be Romish and idolatrous; and in lieu thereof suitable texts of Scripture to be written.*

Proceedings
of Convoca-
tion.

At the Convocation in 1562, we find Sampson's name, with those of Nowel, Leaver, and Calfhill, among the thirty-three signatures to the paper which was rejected, as we have already seen, by a majority of one. While the Convocation was discussing the subject of discipline, the Prolocutor, (Nowel, Dean of St. Paul's,) with Dr. Sampson and Dr. Day, (Provost of Eton,) presented to the Upper House a book—*Catechismes Puerorum*,—to which all the members of the Lower House had unanimously

* Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 23. This fact has been referred to by some as a proof of the Queen's sincerity in the work of Reformation, and by others, as strangely irreconcilable with her persevering in having an altar and an image in her own chapel. The truth is, that her Majesty was sensitively alive to any apparent disobedience to her injunctions, while, at the same time, she would allow no interference with her personal freedom. Both facts illustrate her royal determination *to have her own way*.

given their consent. They left the book with their lordships; but there, unfortunately, it remained, without any further notice." *

BOOK II.
CHAP. IV.

Archbishop Parker, with some of the bishops, had drawn up a book for all ministers to subscribe, which, not having the Queen's sanction, was called ADVERTISEMENTS.† The Secretary, Cecil, used his best persuasion to urge Sampson to conform, telling him that "he gave offence by his disobedience, and that obedience was better than sacrifice." In a long letter to the Secretary, Sampson gave his reasons for not conforming to the use of the prescribed apparel, founded on the divine prohibitions against the ceremonies and fashions of idolatry;—on the warnings of Christ and of his apostles against the traditions of the Pharisees;—on the constitutions of some of the primitive fathers of the Church, forbidding ceremonies and fashions devised and used by idolaters and heretics;—and on the corrupt state of the church which prescribed a "singular form of uniform array to the ministry."—He contended that all reformations ought to be framed after the first pure state.—He affirmed that he could give the Secretary the proof of everything he thus asserted. "These," he said, "were but some of the reasons, not all, that moved him in this cause to do as he did. That he put not herein a law to the consciences of other men, whom, in their standing or falling, he left to the Lord. And so he desired to be left." ‡

Cecil's discussion with Sampson.

In 1564 Sampson was deprived of his deanery, removed from Oxford, and put in confinement by the ecclesiastical commissioners. "We find the state *severe enough*," says a bitter enemy of the Puritans, "against their proceedings, even to the deprivation of Dr. Thomas Sampson, Dean of Christ Church, to which dignity he had been unhappily preferred in the first year of the Queen; and being looked upon as the head of this faction, was worthily deprived

Sampson deprived of his deanery.

* Churton's Life of Nowel, cited by Mr. Brook. Lives of the Puritans, vol. i. p. 378.

† The Advertisements were checked at present by the interposing of the Earl of Leicester, of Knollys, and some other court-patrons of the Dissenters: however, afterwards, they recovered their first title of *Ordinances*, and were given in charge at a metropolitical visitation, in the year 1576. Regist. Grindal's Life of Archbishop Parker, p. 160. Collier's Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii. p. 476.

‡ Strype's Annals, vol. i. pp. 474, 475.

BOOK II. thereof by the Queen's commissioners. They found, by
CHAP. IV. this severity, what they were to trust to, if anything were
practised by them against the liturgy, the doctrine of the
Church, or the public government." *

His continued
Nonconfor-
mity.

After his deprivation at Oxford, Sampson, still persisting in his Nonconformity, was master of an hospital near London, called Whittington College, where he read a lecture every term, for the yearly stipend of ten pounds, given him by the company of clothworkers. Nine years after his deprivation, he is referred to by Strype as the master of an hospital of William de Wigston at Leicester.

His corres-
pondence
with Grindal,
Archbishop
of York.

In his later years Sampson had an interesting correspondence with his former companion in exile at Strasburg, *Grindal*, now Archbishop of York. In one of these letters, referring to some kind expressions of the Archbishop respecting his poverty and his palsy, he expresses himself in the following touching and dignified language: "I do not remember that I ever complained of either the one or the other; if I did of the former, I was to blame, for I must have complained before I suffered want. Touching my lameness, I am so far from complaining, that I humbly thank God for it. It is the Lord's hand which hath touched me. He might have smitten or destroyed me; but of his most rich favour and mercy through Jesus Christ, as a loving father, he hath dealt thus tenderly with me. I bless and praise his name for it. If he see that my poor labours will be of any further service in his Church, he will heal me; but if he have determined by this lameness to lead me to my grave, the Lord give me grace to say with Eli, 'It is the Lord, let him do what seemeth him good.' I shall labour as well as I am able, till I drop into the grave. Though I am in bonds, those bonds are from the Lord, and if it were put to my choice, I would rather carry them to my grave, than be freed from them, and be cumbered with a bishopric." †

Supplication
addressed to
Lord Burgh-
ley.

The last mention of Sampson we can trace in the public documents is his addressing in 1584, to Lord Burghley, "a supplication to be exhibited to our sovereign lady, Queen Elizabeth, to the honourable lords of her most honourable

* *Ærius Redivivus*, by Peter Heylin, D.D., and Chaplain to Charles I. and Charles II., Monarchs of Great Britain, Oxford, 1670.

† Strype's *Memorials of Archbishop Parker*, Appendix, p. 278.

privy council, and to the high court of parliament," containing thirty-four articles for the regulation of the Church, accompanied by two letters, praying his Lordship to attend to these matters. Out of these articles, Mr. Strype thinks the Commons drew up their sixteen petitions offered to the consideration of the Lords, of which an imperfect account is given in D'Ewe's Journal of Parliaments. The "Supplication," is in the name of thousands of poor untaught people in England, complaining of the scarcity of faithful preachers, of the discouragement shown to such preachers as could not conform to human ceremonies; of the unprofitableness of the ceremonies enjoined; of the troubles inflicted on the people by the bishops and their officers for resorting to places where their souls might be edified; of the spiritual destitution of thousands of parishes;—and praying the Queen, the council, and the parliament to devise such remedies for their ministers as shall be thought good and necessary.*

BALE returned, not to Ireland, but to England; where, instead of maintaining his episcopal dignity, we find him in the comparative obscurity of a prebendary of Canterbury Cathedral. He refused to attend the consecration of Archbishop Parker. It seems that during his exile at Frankfort and Basle, he had embraced the principles of the continental Reformers, which indisposed him to accept a bishopric.† His diligence is apparent from his voluminous writings. His vehement attacks on the power of the Pope procured him the honour of a place in the *Index Expurgatorius*,—

Bale returns
to England.

* Anthony Wood says: "At length Mr. Sampson, having lived beyond the age of man, in a perpetual motion, as it were, for the carrying on of the holy cause, laid down his head and gave up the ghost, on the 9th of April, 1589. Whereupon his body was buried in the chapel of the hospital of William de Wigston, before mentioned. Over his grave was a monument soon after fastened to the south wall thereof, with an inscription on it, erected by his sons, John and Nathaniel Sampson.—Wood's *Athence Oxoniensis*, vol. i. p. 239.

† In the first of Queen Elizabeth, about this time (1560) he ended his life, leaving a scholar's inventory—more books (many of his own making) than money behind him. His friends say that Bale's pen doth zealously confute—such as are strangers to him conceive it doth bitterly inveigh, and his foes say it doth damnably rail on—Papists and their opinions, though something may be pleaded for his passion. Old age and ill usage will make a man angry. When young he had seen their superstition; when old he felt their oppression. Give losers, therefore, leave to speak, and speakers to be cholerick in such cases. The best is, Bale rails no more on Papists than Papists employed on the same subject, on Protestant writers; and even set one against the other, whilst the discreet reader of both, paring off the extravagances of passion on each side, may benefit himself in quietness from their loud and clamorous invectives.—Fuller, *Church History*, book ix. sect. 37-40.

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CHAP. IV.

among those of the first class of heretical books, where he is called "a most impudent and scurrilous writer against the see of Rome, the mass, the eucharist; and one that is perpetually breaking out poison—for which it forbids the reading of his works for ever."*

Myles Coverdale.

MYLES COVERDALE's bishopric of Exeter was reserved for him, after Elizabeth's accession; yet though he consented to officiate at the consecration of Archbishop Parker, he declined resuming his own dignity, as he continued for some years without any preferment, living privately in London, or the neighbourhood, yet preaching in many of the churches. Grindal, Bishop of London, was grieved to see one who had done so much for the gospel without the respect due to his age and services. He applied to the Secretary to have him promoted to the bishopric of Llandaff, which the old Puritan refused. Grindal then appointed him to the parish of St. Magnus, near London Bridge, and obtained from the Queen as a favour, that he should be exempted from the payment of the first-fruits, as he had been destitute ever since his former bishopric was taken from him, having no stipend for ten years, and, therefore, now unable either to pay the first-fruits, or long to enjoy the living. "If poor old Myles could be thus provided for," said the aged translator,† "he should think this *enough to be as good as a feast.*"

The diligent historian of the London parishes has shown that "old Myles" was not permitted to enjoy this humble benefice more than two years.‡ Strype tells us that he was deprived for Nonconformity, though he continued to preach to crowded congregations. He died in 1568, at the age of eighty-one, and was attended by a great multitude to his burial in the chancel of St. Bartholomew's Church.

DR. TURNER, who had been banished his country, as we have seen, for his attachment to the gospel, was restored by Elizabeth to his forfeited deanery of Wells. In 1559 he is mentioned as preaching at Paul's Cross. "His audience was very great (perhaps increased by his fame) consisting

* A catalogue of more than eighty works of Bale has been given, besides his great work, "The History of Illustrious British Writers." See *Biographia Britannica*, Keppe's Edition, vol. i. p. 354. Brook's *Lives of the Puritans*, vol. i. p. 113.

† Strype's *History of Grindal*, p. 91.

‡ *Repertorium Ecclesiasticum*, New Court, vol. i. p. 398.

Dr. Turner restored.

both of court, city, and country.”* But when the bishops were pressing conformity with the prescribed habits on the clergy, he displayed the facetiousness of his humour as well as the stoutness of his principles. He showed his contempt for the clerical garb by making an adulterer do penance in a priest’s cap, and by calling the bishops *white coats and tippets gentlemen*. He refused to wear the surplice, or to use the Book of Common Prayer. Along with many others, he was deprived of his living.† Three years after he died, and was buried in the chancel of St. Olave’s Church, Hart Street, London.

BOOK II.
CHAP. IV.

Deprived for
Nonconformity.

THOMAS BECON is described, after his return from exile, as rector of Buckland, in Hertfordshire, rector of Christ Church, Newgate, a prebendary of Canterbury Cathedral, and rector of St. Dioni’s Back Church, London. He was one of the London clergy deprived by the ecclesiastical commissioners at Lambeth in 1565, when the Bishop of London’s chancellor said, “My masters and the ministers of London, the council’s pleasure is, that ye strictly keep the unity of apparel like to this man,” pointing to Mr. Robert Cole, a minister, likewise of the city, who had refused the habits awhile and now complied, and stood before them canonically habited, “as you see him : that is, a square cap, a scholar’s gown priest-like, a tippet ; and in the church a linen surplice, and inviolably observe the rubric of the Common Prayer, and the Queen’s Majesty’s injunctions, and the book of Convocation. Ye that will presently subscribe, write *Volo*, (I will ;) those that will not subscribe, write *Nolo*, (I refuse.) Be brief ; make no words.” And when some would have spoken, the answer was, “Peace ! peace ! Apparitor, call the churches. Masters, answer presently, under penalty of contempt, and set your names.” Then the sumner called first the peculiars of Canterbury ; then some of the Winchester diocese, and lastly the London ministers. By these resolute doings many of the incumbents were “mightily surprised.” Earl, one of these ministers, incumbent of St. Mildreds, Bread Street, says in his journal, quoted in part by Strype, “Men’s hearts were

Summary
proceedings
in enforcing
the habits.

Rash pro-
ceedings con-
sequent
thereon.

* Strype’s Annals, vol. i. p. 134.

† He had revived the strife (Strype says) by a book, written, copied, and dispersed about.

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tempted and tried. Great was the sorrow of most ministers, and their mourning, saying, We are killed in the soul of our souls, for this pollution of ours ; for that we cannot perform in the singleness of our hearts this our ministry. We abide in extreme misery—our wives, and our children, by the proceedings of the bishops who oppose us, and place ignorant ministers in our places.”*

Many upon this were sequestered, and afterwards, some deposed and deprived. “Mr. Becon refused at first, but afterwards subscribed, and was preferred.”† What the preferment was, does not appear. In the following year, he became a preacher at Paul’s Cross. The prefaces to his collected works, and to his Postells, or plain sermons upon the gospels, appointed to be read throughout the year, are dated from Canterbury.

Whitehead
engaged in
revising the
Liturgy.

WHITEHEAD, who took so prominent a part in the affairs of the English church at Frankfort, was employed, while abroad, in writing lectures and homilies on St. Paul’s Epistles. After his return home, he was one of the divines employed in revising the liturgy. The Queen was so much satisfied with the part he took in the dispute with the Roman Catholics at the beginning of her reign, that she proposed to make him Archbishop of Canterbury, which he declined, according to Fuller,‡ “out of his desire of privacy, though some causelessly suspected him of disaffection to church discipline.” He likewise refused the mastership of the hospital of the Savoy in the Strand, affirming that he could live plentifully on the preaching of the gospel. “A rare example of moderation,” Fuller says. He delighted in travelling about to preach the gospel in those places where he thought it was most needed. His life was spent in celibacy, for which Elizabeth highly esteemed him. Fuller says that she “valued his company for his conscientious bluntness.”||

• Brook’s *Lives of the Puritans*, vol. i. p. 219, quoted here. Baker’s MSS, Collection, vol. i. p. 150.

† Strype.

‡ *Worthies of England*, vol. ii. p. 19. Ed. Nultale, 1840.

|| Lord Bacon relates an anecdote illustrative of this: Whitehead, a grave divine, was much esteemed by Queen Elizabeth, but not preferred, because he was against the government of bishops. He was of a blunt, stoical nature. He came one day to the Queen, and the Queen happened to say to him, “I like thee better, Whitehead, because thou livest unmarried,” He answered, “In

Fuller calls him a "deep divine," and adds, "his many books still extant, testify his learning and religion." He was one of those deprived by the ecclesiastical commissioners for Nonconformity, in 1564. The closing sentence of the "Brieve Discourse of the Troubles at Frankfort," says:—"It may here also be noted, that the most ancientest fathers of this our own country, as Master Coverdale, Master Doctor Turner, Master Whitehead, and many others, some dead, some yet living, from whose mouths and pens the urgers of these (innovations) received first the light of the gospel, could never be brought to yield or consent unto such things as are now forced with so great extremity." Wood remarks of Whitehead, "He was conducted by death to the habitation prepared for old age in 1571, but in what church or chapel buried, I know not."*

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His deprivation and death

LEAVER is introduced in the "Brieve Discourse of the Troubles at Frankfort," as labouring for the peace of the church there; and after the death of Mary, when the English church at Geneva addressed their fellow-exiles in Switzerland, and in Germany, for the purpose of promoting unity among them. On their return home, we find the name of Leaver, with those of three other English ministers, in the church at Aarau, attached to a beautiful acknowledgment of the proposals from Geneva.†

Leaver, Jewel, Fox, and other returned exiles.

When Mr. Leaver returned to England, he shared in the poor and neglected condition in which Jewel and Fox, and others of the returned exiles found themselves. Jewel, in a letter to Bullinger, says, "They were to oppose not only their old Popish adversaries, but even their late friends, who had now revolted from them, and were turned against them, and sided with the adversaries, and did much more stubbornly resist them than any of their enemies. . . . They did as much as they could; but at present they lived after that sort, as though they were scarce returned from their banishment. For, to say no worse, their livings and preferments were not yet restored to them."‡

At the same time, though Leaver was not restored to his troth, Madam, I like you the worse for the same cause."—Apothegms, 90; Bacon's Works, vol. i. p. 316, Ed. 1838. Mr. Macready calls this "the best jest-book in the world."

* Athenæ Oxoniensis, vol. i. p. 172.

† Brieve Discourse, p. 163, 164.

‡ Strype's Annals, vol. i., Appendix, no. xx.

BOOK II. mastership of St. John's, Cambridge, he was one of the
 CHAP. IV. eminent and learned men who were admitted to the Queen's
 presence, and often preached before her. Strype tells us,
 Leaver's in- that "he had so much of her ear as to dissuade her from
 fluence with the Queen. taking the title of Supreme Head." In 1561 he was promoted by Dr. Pilkington, Bishop of Durham, to a prebend in his cathedral, and the mastership of Sherborn Hospital, near the city of Durham.*

His exertions
 with the Earl
 of Leicester

During the time when Archbishop Parker was rigidly pressing conformity on the clergy, Leaver wrote to the Earl of Leicester a letter, in which he urges that nobleman to exert himself on behalf of the silenced Puritans, and pointing out to him the criminality and danger of preferring ceremonial service to the faithful preaching of the gospel by duly appointed ministers, whose only offence was conscientiously refusing "prescription of men in apparel." While others were silenced, he appears, from Strype's account,† to have been still suffered to preach, and also, by another authority‡ it is stated, that he retained his prebend in Durham Cathedral till the year 1567.

Nonconformity was, at that time, punished with imprisonment as well as deprivation of livings in the Church. In a letter to some of the Puritan prisoners, in Bridewell, Leaver expresses his own determination, by the grace of God, never to wear the square cap and the surplice, nor to kneel at the communion.

Strype speaks of him as "an eloquent preacher, and a sincere professor of true religion, and an exile for it under Queen Mary."|| Leaver was not only the neighbour, but an intimate friend of "the Apostle of the North," Bernard Gilpin, of Houghton-le-Spring, of whom so many interesting memoirs have been written.

WILLIAM WHITTINGHAM has been mentioned in the ac-

* His name is subscribed (in Latin) to the articles of the Convocation of 1562: "Thomas Leverus, Archd. Coventr., by which it appears that he had become Archdeacon of Coventry.—Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 328.

† Life of Parker, p. 283.

‡ Baker's MSS., vol. i. p. 151.

|| The same historian inserts in his Annals (vol. i. pp. 513, 514.) a letter which he addressed to Lord Burghley, "On Behalf the Revenues of divers Colleges and Hospitals;" and he closes his account of him by saying: "Upon a flat marble stone in the Chapel of Sherborn Hospital, near the altar, is this inscription: 'Thomas Leaver, preacher to King Edward Sixth. He died in July 1577.' He was succeeded in that hospital by his brother, Rafe Leaver."

count of the church at Frankfort. He was descended from an ancient family in Cheshire, and, on his mother's side, from the Houghtons, of Houghton Tower, in Lancashire. He was born in the city of Chester, about the year 1524. In his sixteenth year he entered Brazennose College, Oxford; five years after he was chosen Fellow of All Souls. When about twenty-six years old, he obtained leave from the dean and canons of Christ Church, of which he had become one of the senior students, to travel for three years. After the first year, which he spent chiefly at Orleans, he visited the principal universities of Germany, and remained at Geneva until the death of Edward Sixth. The persecutions carried on by Mary drove him to Frankfort. The conduct of Whittingham at Frankfort has been variously represented, according to the prejudice of parties; but the "Briefe Discourse of the Troubles at Frankfort" being, as we have observed, the authority from which all parties draw their information, his conduct has been described exactly as it is given in that work. We have followed him to Geneva, and have seen him there employed in the English translation of the Scriptures. We have given some account of his return home, of his appointment to the deanery of Durham, and of his letter to the Earl of Leicester on behalf of the Puritans. He was one of the clergy summoned by Archbishop Parker before the ecclesiastical commissioners in 1566, who at first refused, but afterwards subscribed, and was preferred.* Five years after, he was again called before the commissioners, with Sampson, Leaver, and others. Parker sent to Grindal, now the Archbishop of York, to produce Whittingham and Gilby, who lived in the northern province, before the ecclesiastical commission at York; and it would seem from Strype's account that he must have conformed.† It is probable, from the leanings of the northern Archbishop's own mind, that the Dean of Durham was dealt with at York more gently than he would have been in London. But on the death of Parker, Grindal was translated to Canterbury; and Dr. Sandys, who had succeeded him in the see of London, now became the Archbishop of York. Pilkington, Bishop of Durham being dead, and the vacancy

BOOK II.
CHAP. IV.

William
Whitting-
ham.

* Strype's Life of Parker.

† Life of Grindal, p. 170.

BOOK II
CHAP. IV.

His excom-
munication.

not filled up, Archbishop Sandys resolved to include that diocese in his primary visitation ; which was prevented by the refusal of the clergy to receive him. In the following year Barnes was appointed to succeed Pilkington, and the Archbishop was bent on pursuing his visitation, having heard of great irregularities in the diocese, especially in the conduct of Dean Whittingham. The Archbishop excommunicated the Dean : the Dean appealed to the sovereign. A commission to examine these affairs was appointed by her Majesty. From the long account which Strype gives of the proceedings of this commission we gather, that the main charge against Whittingham was that he was not regularly ordained ; that his answer was that he was regularly ordained according to the usages of the church in which he had ministered at Geneva ; that in the opinion of Hutton, Dean of York, Mr. Whittingham's ordination was as good as the Archbishop's own ; and that the Lord President considered there would be a danger of giving grave offence to the reformed churches abroad, if we should allow of the Popish massing priests in our ministry, and disallow of the ministers made in a reformed church. Whittingham's death released him from the consequences of any decision to which the commissioners might have come.

Exhortation
to modera-
tion by the
Church of
Scotland.

The strong proceedings of Archbishop Parker against the Puritans were not likely to pass unnoticed by the Church of Scotland. A letter from "the superintendent ministers and commissioners of charges within the realm of Scotland," was addressed "to their brethren the bishops and pastors of England, who hath renounced the Roman Antichrist, and do profess with them the Lord Jesus in sincerity," on which they desire the perpetual increase of the Holy Spirit. Declining to enter into the controversy respecting the clerical apparel, they intreat that Christian charity may prevail ; they remind them "how tender a thing the conscience of a man is ;" they refer to many thousands both godly and learned that are persuaded differently from the bishops ; they call to mind several texts of Scripture, which they urge on the serious attention of their English brethren ; they exhort them to walk more circumspectly than that for such vanities the godly should be troubled, for all things that seem lawful edify not : they describe civil authorities

as not always having the light of God shining before their eyes, but their affections savouring too much of the earth and of worldly wisdom ; and finally, they supplicate “that our brethren who, among you, refuse the Romish rags, may find of you, the prelates, such favours as our Head and Master commands every one of his members to show one to another, which we supplicate of your gentleness, not only for that ye fear to offend God’s majesty, in troubling of your brethren for such trifles, but also because ye will not refuse the humble request of us your brethren and fellow-preachers of Christ Jesus, in whom, albeit there appear no great worldly pomp, yet we suppose you will not so far despise us, but that ye will esteem us to be of the number of those that fight against the Roman Antichrist, and travail that the kingdom of Christ Jesus universally may be maintained and advanced. The days are evil. Iniquity abounds. Christian charity (alas) is waxen cold, but therefore, we ought the more diligently to watch. For the hour is uncertain when the Lord Jesus shall appear, before whom we, your brethren, and ye, may give an account of our administration.”*

It does not appear that either the remonstrances of the Puritans themselves, or the interpositions of their friends in other churches, produced any mitigation of the Archbishop’s determination to proceed to extremities. The licenses of the clergy were called in, and they were renewed to those only who were ready to conform, and this, with the full conviction, as the Archbishop himself expressed it, “that these precise folks would offer their goods and bodies to prison, rather than they would relent.”†

The fruitless-
ness of all re-
monstrances.

The Puritans appealed from the authorities of the church

Appeal to
public opin-
ion.

* This letter is dated Edinbro’, December 28, 1566, and signed, “Your loving brethren and fellow-preachers in Christ Jesus, Jno Craig, Da. Lyndesey, Guil. Gittisouns, J. Spottiswood, Jo. Row, Rob. Pout, Jo. Wiram, Jacob Mailvil, Jo. Erskin, Mc. Spital. These names and dates are given in the copy printed in the *Briefe Discourse about the Troubles at Frankford*. In the copy given by Strype, (No. 51, appended to the *Life of Parker*, 1711,) besides one or two other important variations, the date is 27th of December, 1655, and the signature is John Davidson, for James Nicoloson, writer and clerke of the Church at Edenborough.”

† Strype’s *Parker*, b. iii. c. 12. p. 225. Letters to the same purport from Beza to Bishop Grindal, and from Ganchues, Divinity Professor at Heidelberg to Queen Elizabeth, are given by Strype in his *Life of Grindal*, (*in the Briefe Discourse*.) and in his *Annals*; they are commented on with calm dislike by Strype, with rancour by Heylin, and with warm approbation by Brooke, in his *History of Religious Liberty*, vol. i. p. 308.

BOOK II.
CHAP. IV.

to the judgment of the community. They published, in 1566, "A Brief Discourse against the Outward Apparel and Ministering Garments of the Popish Church."* Strype speaks of this book as containing the general sense of the Puritans; as sent abroad by their common consent in vindication of themselves; as showing the full strength of their objections against the habits; and, therefore, not unworthy to be read. In the account which he gives of the contents of the book, he states the following as the principal objections: "(1.) That the adoption of the habits appeared to them to be the pulling down rather than the building up of the Church of Christ, inasmuch as they grieved the minds of simple Christians on the one hand, and on the other, confirmed the superstitions and errors of the Papists, and therefore could not be safely regarded as indifferent matters. (2.) That these things were additions to the Word of God. (3.) That the enforcement of these habits by the civil authority was an infringement of Christian liberty. (4.) That these habits were unnecessary, unsuitable, partly Jewish, partly heathenish in their origin, and the adoption of them was inconsistent with the *doctrines* of the Reformers." "Fearing, therefore, to lose themselves with the loss of so many souls besides themselves, they had chosen to venture the loss of worldly commodities, rather than to hazard that which no earthly treasure could buy: trusting that their prince, and others in authority, would favour their first cause, and not mislike with them because they feared God more than man, and were more loath to lose the heavenly kingdom than earthly commodities. They hoped that all wise men did see the mark the earnest solicitors of this matter (*i. e.* the enforcers of the habits) did shoot at. They were not, neither were (had been) at any time, Protestants; but when time served them, they were bloody persecutors; and, since time failed them, they had borne back as much as lay in them. Should we think then, that such did seek the advancement of God's

* The running title was, "The Unfolding of the Popish Attire;" and the title which stood on the first page, where the discourse began, was different from them both, and more particular, viz: "A Declaration of the Doings of those Ministers of God's Word and Sacraments in the City of London, which have Refused to Wear the Upper Apparel and Ministering Garments of the Pope's Church."

glory in the setting forth of his true religion. No, no ! Their purpose was in them, silly wretches, to deface the glorious gospel of Christ Jesus.”*

BOOK II.

CHAP. IV.

Books published on this occasion.

Another book, which had been suppressed for some years in the hope that the Reformation would be carried further, was now published :—“A Pleasant Dialogue between a Soldier of Berwick and an English Chaplain.” Wherein are largely handled and laid open such reasons as are brought for maintenance of Popish traditions in our English Church. Also, are collected, as in a short table, one hundred and twenty particular corruptions remaining in the said Church ; with sundry other matters to be known of *all persons*.

In the following year came forth a book, printed at Embden :—“The Mind and Exposition of that Excellent Man, Martin Bucer, upon those words of St. Matthew, *Love to the world because of offences*, Matt. xviii., Faithfully Translated into English by a Faithful Brother, and Certain Objections and Answers to the same :” to which is appended, “The Judgment of the Reverend Father, Henry Bullinger, Pastor of the Church at Zurich, in Certain Matters of Religion, being in Controversy in many Countries, even where the Gospel is taught.”

Replies by the opponents of the Puritans

The opponents of the Puritans, on their part, were not idle in the use of the press. They published a thin octavo volume, containing the Judgments of Melancthon, in a tract, from the epitome of his moral philosophy in obedience to magistrates ; and, also, in a discourse on the 13th chapter of the Epistle to the Romans ;—Bullinger’s Letter to Bishops Horne, Grindal, and Parkhurst ;—and the correspondence of Bucer with Cranmer, Hooper, and A. Lasco ; and “A Brief and Humble Consideration of the Apparel now used by the Clergy of England : set out by a Faithful Servant of God, for the Instruction of the Weak.” Strype ascribes this book to Archbishop Parker, or some other person by his order. To the same hand he also ascribes the “Answer to the Book of the London Ministers, an Examination for the Time, of a Certain Declaration *lately put in print in the name and defence* of certain Ministers in London, Refusing to wear the Apparel Prescribed by the Laws and Orders of the Realm.” The professed object of

* Strype’s Annals, vol. i. c. 44.

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the writer of this tract is not so much to examine* the arguments of the ministers, as to show that these ministers were but a few men ; that most of them were unlearned, had been brought up in most profane occupations, or puffed up in an arrogancy of themselves ; that they were, peradventure, chargeable with such varieties of assertions as he would, at that time, spare to charge them with : praying God they fell not, at last, to the sect of Anabaptists, or Libertines ; as some wise and zealous men of their own friends and patrons feared they made post-haste one day openly to profess. At the same time he weighs and examines the grounds and reasons of the ministers distinctly, and, as Strype says, “nervously.”†

The book begins with a quotation from Augustine, on conformity to the usages of the Church, and it ends with the letters of foreign divines, to which such frequent reference has been made.‡

Strype has not mentioned another book :—“An Answer for the Time to the Examination put in Print, Without the Author’s Name, Pretending to Maintain the Apparel Prescribed, against the Declaration of the Ministers of London. Printed 1566.” In this book the Archbishop’s paragraphs are distinctly answered, certainly not without nerve. The writer says :—“We desire the reader to waye this man’s writing with the epistles of Bucer and Martyr, annexid to the end, and to judg whether the same spirit be in them both. They bear with the things tollerable for a tyme, wishing the utter abolishing of them ;—this man defendith them as good orders, profitable to edifie, and therefore mete

* The following passage occurs in a letter from Archbishop Parker to his friend Dr. Haddon, the Queen’s ambassador at Bruges :—“Ye may well marvel of the boldness of these men ecclesiastical advancing themselves so far, to insult against the prince, and public authority of the laws, &c. And not to be ashamed to put their fancies in public print. Lamentable it is, that some of these light heads be much comforted of such, whose authority should be bent to repress them. The boldness of their books imprinted caused some examination to be set forth, which here I send you to expend. Indeed, all things be not so answered as their writing deserved, but yet more was considered what became such which hath taken in hand to answer, than what they deserved. And I am deceived if a little be not enough to satisfy wise and learned men in this controversy. And thus signify to you, that with the assistance of the Queen’s Majesty’s Council we have dispersed a few of the heads of them, some to the Bishop of Winchester, some to Ely, and some to Norwich, to school them, or else at the least to have them out of London, till we see cause to restore them their liberty.”—Strype’s Parker, b. ii. c. ii. p. 223.

† Annals, ch. 48.

‡ The book is copied in Strype’s Parker, Appendix, no. 49.

to be retayned still. They esteeme the resisters as godlie bretherne ;—he condemnith them as schismatikes, bellie-gods, decevers, flatterers, fooles, such as have been unlearnedlie brought up in prophan occupations ; puffed up in arrogancie of themselves ; chargeable to vanities of assertions ; of whom it is feared that they make posthast to be Anabaptists and Libertines ; gone out from us, but belike never of us ; differing not much from Donatists, shrinking and refusing ministers of London ; disturbers ; factious willfull entanglers, and encomberers of the consciences of their herers ; girders, nippers, scoffers, biters, snappers at superiors ; having the spirit of irony ; like to *Audiani*, smelling of Donatistrie, or of Papistrie, Rogatians, Circumcellians, and Pelagians.” *

During the sitting of parliament this year (1566) an unsuccessful attempt was made to obtain some relief for the Puritans. Humphrey, then at Oxford, wrote to his friend John Fox a Latin epistle, commending to his prayers and solicitude the propagation of religion, and the reformation of the Church, and urging him to use all means to induce the rulers in the state and in the Church.†

Instead of relief, the Puritan clergy met only with more determined opposition. The Archbishop, and other ecclesiastical commissioners, deeming it easier to silence than to answer their objections, recommended several articles to the Lords of the Privy Council, which forced large numbers of the clergy to leave their churches.

Refusal of all relief.

The vacancies occasioned by the suspension of so many of the most laborious and acceptable of the clergy were not easily supplied.

In the strong language of Fox, “Covetousness robs and spoils. Benefices are bought and sold. Priests grow cold ; and would they were cold indeed ; but now many are neither cold nor hot. The pulpits are silenced. Christ’s sheep-fold is fleeced, not fed. The harvest is despised.” ‡

Fox’s opinion of the result of these proceedings.

Some use was made of the evils attending the lack of

* Pierce’s Vindication of Dissenters, p. 62.

† MSS. Fox, XII. The proceedings in parliament respecting the Puritans in this reign will be considered in a subsequent part of this volume.

‡ Letter to the Commissioners Ecclesiastical, concerning the present Controversies in the Church, in Latin MSS. Fox, II. Printed in Strype’s Parker, Appendix, no. 50.

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pastoral service in the churches, to call the attention of the court to the severities inflicted on the Puritans, some of whom had been sent to prison. The Secretary wrote to the Archbishop, requesting him to proceed more gently, and to continue his care of the churches in London. It is evident, from some of the Archbishop's letters, that he was much discouraged by this check. He complains that he must do all things alone; that he was not able, and must refuse, to promise to do what he could not, and was another man's charge, (the diocese of London;) he marvelled that he must be charged to see and judge of all parishes in London, and the care committed to him only; as though the burden should be laid on his neck, and other men draw backward. All other men must win honour and defence, and I only shame to be so vilely reported. And yet I am not weary to bear to do service to God and my prince; but an ox can draw no more than he can." *

Strype refers to these letters as showing the inconvenience which arose from the disobedience of the Puritan party, and as proving *the strength of that party in the Church*.

SECOND PERIOD OF THE PURITANS UNDER ELIZABETH.
A. D. 1567-1603.

The Puritans
separate
from the es-
tablished
Church.

The hinderances offered to the labours of the Puritans, and the grievous sufferings inflicted on them, induced many of them, in the year 1567, to separate from the established Church, that they might worship God according to their belief, and without the superstitions enforced on them by the authority of the Archbishop and of the Queen. On the 19th of June about 100 persons met at Plummer's Hall. Information of this meeting being given to the Sheriff, fourteen or fifteen of their number were apprehended by the Sheriff's officers, and committed to prison in the *Compter*. On the following day Smith, Nixon, Ireland, Hawkins, Rowland, and Morecraft, were examined by Sir Roger Martin, the Lord Mayor, the Bishop of London, (Grindal) the Dean of Westminster, Dr. Watts, and other commissioners.

Continued
opposition.

The Bishop complained of their disorder in absenting themselves from their parish churches, and in gathering

* Strype's Parker. b. iii. c. xii.

together by themselves to pray, preach, and celebrate the sacrament. He urged against them the Queen's letter, the reformed state of the Church, and the falsehood of which they had been guilty in hiring a house for preaching under pretence of a wedding.

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In reply to the Bishop's reproofs, one of their number, John Smith, said, "We thank God for the Reformation; and all we desire is that everything in our worship may be according to God's word. So long as we might have the word freely preached, and the sacraments administered without 'idolatrous gear,' we never assembled in houses; but, when we saw all our preachers displaced for not subscribing to the apparel and the law, we began to consider what we had better do; and, remembering that in Queen Mary's days there was a congregation, not only a church of exiles abroad, but one in the city of London, which used a book differing from the Book of Common Prayer, we resolved to meet privately and use the same book. We are willing to give up our meeting and to do penance at St. Paul's Cross, if the Bishop and the commissioners can reprove this book, or anything else that we hold, by the word of God."

"*Bishop.* This is no answer for your not going to church.

"*Smith.* I would as lief go to mass as to some churches; such is the parish where I dwell; the minister who officiates there is a very Papist.

"*Bishop.* You ought not to find fault with all for a few. You might go to other places, to hear Humphrey, Sampson, Leaver, or Coverdale."

The Dean of Westminster told them that they were depriving the Prince of lawful authority, and destroying Christian liberty, which does not consist in such scruples as yours. "Therefore," added the Bishop, "you suffer justly." "It does not lie within the authority of the Prince," said one of the accused party, "and the liberty of a Christian man, to use and defend that which belongs to Papistry, and idolatry, and the Pope's canon law. The will of the Prince, and the Pope's canon law, are preferred by you to the word and ordinance of Christ." The Bishop then went into a long explanation of the authority of

BOOK II. princes to command in things indifferent, being of a middle
 CHAP. IV. sort, neither commanded nor forbidden by the word of God. Several of the party cried out "Prove that. Where find you that?" The Bishop said, "I have talked with many men, but I never saw any behave themselves so irreverently before magistrates." They then urged that the things to which they objected were not indifferent, but superstitious and idolatrous.

Bullinger's
 opinions.

The Bishop then quoted Bullinger against them. "Perhaps," said Smith, "I could show Bullinger against Bullinger in this matter." "I think not," the Bishop replied, "all reformed churches differ in rites and ceremonies; and we agree with all reformed churches in substance of doctrine." One of the Puritans then said, "We should follow the truth, and the best way. You have brought the gospel and the sacraments into bondage to the ceremonies of anti-christ, and have defended idolatry and Papistry: there is no ordinance of Christ with which you have not mingled your inventions, as, for instance, the godfathers and godmothers in baptism." The Bishop urged the practice of the Church at Geneva; to which it was replied:—"It is good to follow the best example, to follow the church of Geneva as that church follows Christ." They were then plied with the authority of learned men; respecting which they answered:—"We build not our faith and religion on *them*."

Melan-
 thon's opin-
 ions.

When Hawkins produced a passage from Melancthon, which says, "When the opinion of holiness, or merit, or of *necessity* is put unto things indifferent, then they darken the light of the gospel, and ought by all means to be taken away,"—"These matters," said the Bishop, "of which you are disputing, are not commanded of *necessity* in the Church." Hawkins rejoined, "You have *made* it a matter of necessity, and that many a poor man feels."

The worthy Bishop felt it no pleasant matter to deal with these sturdy Nonconformists. He seems to have made no objection to their book, but to have confined his objection to their meeting in opposition to the Queen's will.*

In a paper entitled, "The Ministers' Reasons,"—in the

Maurice Collection,—there is a statement of the grounds taken by those who now refused to conform; and, in the same Collection there is a letter from William White to Bishop Grindal, in which, after referring to the Bishop's language when the writer had appeared before him as a prisoner, he appeals to him in this strong language:—"I desire you, in the bowels of Christ, to consider your own case, who, by your own confession was once a persecutor, and have since been persecuted; whether displacing, banishing, and imprisoning God's children more straitly than felons, heretics, or traitors, be persecuting again or no? They that make the best of it say you buffet your brethren, which, if the Master of the house find you so doing, you know your reward. I desire you, therefore, in the bowels of Christ, not to restrain us of the liberty of our consciences, but be a means to enlarge our liberty in the truth and sincerity of the gospel, and use your interest that all that remains of antichrist may be abolished, with every plant that our heavenly Father hath not planted." *

BOOK II.
CHAP. IV.
"The Minister's Reasons."

After remaining more than a year in prison, twenty-four men and seven women were discharged on the suggestion of Bishop Grindal to the Lords of the Council. The Bishop's leniency was the effect of his good disposition, and of his hope that gentle measures might do more than severity in bringing those persons to conform. In the letter from the Council he was required to "let them understand that, if after their enlargement, any of them again should carry themselves factiously or disorderly they must expect severe punishment to the example of others; and to give them further admonition according as he should think convenient."

Bishop Grindal's mediation.

Among the persons thus discharged was Christopher Foster, or *Coleman*, one of their preachers. A long letter from Coleman to the Queen's Secretary, (Lord Burghley,) urged him to promote the reformation in the Church, which the Puritans believed to be according to the word of God. The letter is certainly not likely to be quoted as a proof of the writer's extraordinary learning, but Strype acknowledges that "he intended well." †

Christopher Coleman.

* MS. in Dr. Williams' Library.

† *Annals*, vol. i. p. 55. It is in reference to this Coleman that Heylin says:—

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CHAP. IV.

Dangers of
the Reform-
ed Church.

Not long after the release of these *Separatists* from prison, the attention of the bishops was seriously engaged by the dangers which threatened the Reformed religion, both on the Continent and in England. The Prince of Conde had been overthrown in France. The Admiral Coligni, and his brother Andelot, had been poisoned by an assassin, at the instance of Queen Catherine de Medicis. Nowel, the Dean of St. Paul's, wrote an earnest letter to Grindal, Bishop of London, by which the Bishop was stirred up to procure from the Secretary letters to the heads of the Inns of Court, for the suppression of Popery ; and to take other measures for the same purpose at Cambridge, and in other parts of the kingdom. It was resolved in convocation, that the Articles of Religion should be printed, in English as well as in Latin, and read publicly four times a year in all the dioceses of the Province of Canterbury. They were followed by the Book of Canons, according to which—though they were without the Queen's authority, or that of the Lower House of Convocation ; and though they had neither the hearty concurrence of Grindal, nor were regarded with perfect confidence even by Archbishop Parker himself—the bishops proceeded, especially in what concerned their clergy, in their respective dioceses. By one of the articles in this book, it was required that all the licenses of preachers should be given up to the bishops before September, 1571. At the same time, as appears from Strype, a strong protestation, on behalf of the Queen's authority, was required to be signed by all persons suspected of Puritanism.

"Benson, Batton, Hallingham, Coleman, and others, taking upon them to be of a more ardent zeal than others in professing the true Reformed religion, resolved to allow of nothing in God's public service, (according to the rules laid down by Calvin and Beza,) but what was found expressly in the Holy Scriptures. And whether out of a desire of reformation, (which pretence had gilded many a rotten post,) or for singularity sake and innovation, they openly questioned the received discipline of the Church of England, yea condemned the same, together with the public liturgy, and the calling of bishops, as savouring too much of the religion of the Church of Rome; against which they frequently protested in their pulpits, affirming *that it was an impious thing to hold any correspondence with that Church*, and labouring with all diligence to bring the Church of England to a conformity in all things with the rules of Geneva. These, although the Queen commanded to be laid by the heels, yet it is incredible how, upon a sudden, their followers increased in all parts of the kingdom, distinguished from the rest by the name of Puritans, by reason of their own perverseness, and most obstinate refusal to give ear to more sound advice. Their numbers much increased on a double account; first, by the negligence of some, and the connivance of other bishops, who should have looked more narrowly into their proceedings; and partly, by the secret favour of some great men in the court, who greedily gaped after the remainder of the Church's patrimony."—*Erius Redivivus*, pp. 257, 258.

To put a stop to the meetings of the Puritans in private houses, the Queen ordered the Archbishop and the rest of her ecclesiastical commissioners, to require all churchwardens not to suffer any to read, pray, preach, or minister any sacraments in any churches, chapels, or *private places*, without license from the Queen : the Archbishop, or the bishop of the diocese, using all diligence in this business at their peril. The preamble to this order of the ecclesiastical commission, "concerning the Puritan ministers," is in the following words :—

"Whereas, the Queen's Majesty being very careful for the good government of other realms and dominions in all godly and wholesome religion, agreeable to the word of God, and being very desirous to have both her laws and orders well and faithfully observed, and her loving subjects reposed in godly quiet, concord, and unity, and especially in matters of religion," &c.*

Notwithstanding the gentle solitudes of the Queen and of the ecclesiastical commission, the Separatists continued to meet for worship. Two of the ministers, Mr. William Bonham, and Mr. Nicholas Crane, were licensed by Bishop Grindal to preach, on conditions, which, according to Strype, they violated; and they were again put in prison. Among the sufferers for Nonconformity at this time we find special mention made of Mr. William Axton, of whose examinations before Dr. Bentham, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry,—on the use of the surplice, the sign of the cross, the office and authority of bishops, obedience to the Queen's laws, and other matters,—are recorded at great length in the Maurice Manuscripts, preserved in Dr. Williams' Library.† So far were these severities from putting down the Puritans, that they had the effect of increasing the number of objections to the Church of England. Besides entertaining scruples respecting particular ceremonies, the nonconforming party were now prepared to make a stand against the constitution, government, and discipline of the Church from which they felt themselves compelled to separate.

It will be remembered that, during the reign of Mary,

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CHAP. IV.

The Queen's restraints on the Puritans.

Order to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

The influence of the Continental Reformers.

* Strype's Parker, Appendix, no. 62.

† The reader will find them in Brook's Lives of the Puritans, vol. i pp. 151 165

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CHAP. IV.

many of the Protestant clergy, who had maintained a close correspondence with the Continental Reformers in Edward's reign, found shelter from the storm of persecution in several parts of Germany, and, especially of Switzerland. Among the great divines of Switzerland, they not only became more deeply rooted in the doctrinal system which goes under the name of Calvin, but they likewise beheld with approbation the simpler, more popular, and, as they believed, more scriptural system of church government which prevailed in the Swiss churches. On their return home, some of them, from views of temporary expediency, —in which many of the Continental divines agreed with them—conformed to the Episcopal government on which the Queen insisted. The reluctance of others, however, had been gathering strength; and, when they felt the oppressive hand of power, that reluctance acquired the force of an indomitable principle. They desired to induce the government, and the leaders of the Church, to adopt and carry out these views; and when they failed in this, they resolved at all hazards to act upon them for themselves.

Thomas
Cartwright.

The most eminent of this advanced party was THOMAS CARTWRIGHT, a native of Hertfordshire. At the early age of fifteen he entered St. John's College, Cambridge, under the guidance, first, of Dr. Bill, and then of Mr. Thomas Leaver. His course of laborious studies at Cambridge was interrupted by the accession of Mary; when, leaving the university, he became clerk in the office of a barrister, where he still pursued, as best he could, his theological reading. When Mary was succeeded by Elizabeth, Cartwright returned to St. John's College, of which Dr. Pilkington, afterwards Bishop of Durham, had become master. After enjoying in that college the patronage of Dr. Pilkington and the instructions of Mr. Dudley Fenner for three years, he removed to Trinity College, where he was soon chosen one of the senior fellows. At the time of Elizabeth's visit to Cambridge, he was chosen, along with Dr. Chudderton, fellow of Queen's, Dr. Preston, and Mr. Bartholomew Clerk, both fellows of King's College, as a disputant in the Philosophy Act, kept by Thomas King, of Pelu House, by which he won much honour in the royal presence, as one of the "ripest and most learned men" of

the university. The Queen is said to have approved of all the disputants.*

BOOK II.

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Mr. Cartwright was chosen Margaret Professor of Divinity† in 1569, two years after he had taken his degree of Bachelor of Divinity. In his public lectures he unfolded his views of Church order, which were much opposed to the practice prevailing in England. These views were taken up by Chapman and by Some. The Chancellor of the university, Cecil, was moved by Dr. Chudderton, to suppress them severely by authority, as errors which exposed to hazard the good state, quietness, and governance, not of Cambridge only, but of the whole Church and realm. Grindal, also, now Archbishop of York, who had belonged to the same university, wrote to the Chancellor, complaining that the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of Houses “proceed not so roundly in this case as was requisite ;” expressing his fear that the youth of Cambridge, by frequenting Cartwright’s lectures in great numbers, were in danger of being poisoned with a love of contention, and a liking of novelty; and urging that Cartwright should be silenced in schools and pulpits; that he should not be allowed to proceed doctor of divinity; and that all the offenders should be reduced to conformity or expelled.‡ On the other hand, Cartwright addressed two Latin letters to the Chancellor, and two other letters were written by his friends on his behalf. Dr. Whitgift, with whom Cartwright had disputed the objectionable doctrines, likewise laid before the Chancellor the following tenets of Cartwright, which, he said, would breed mere confusion, if they should take place :—first, that there ought not to be in the Church of Christ either archbishops, archdeacons, deans, chancellors, or any other whereof mention is not expressly made in scripture ;—secondly, that the office of the bishop and deacon, as they were then in the Church of England, was not allowable ;—thirdly, that there ought to be an equality of all ministers, and every one to be chief in his own cure ;—fourthly that ministers ought to be chosen by the people, as they were in the apostles’ time ; fifthly, that none ought to be

His public lectures.

* Strype’s Annals, vol. i. chap. xxxix.

† A professorship founded by the mother of Henry VII.

‡ In another letter to Cecil he says, “ My opinion is, as I have written to you before, that they (the Puritans) are only to be bridled by authority.”

BOOK II.
CHAP. IV

a minister unless he have a cure ;—sixthly, that a man must not preach out of his own cure ;—seventhly, that the order, and calling, and making of ministers, now used in the Church of England, is extraordinary, and to be altered. Dr. Whitgift had been recently appointed Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge. Cartwright, deprived of his professorship, and of his fellowship in the college, and forbidden to preach or teach in the university, retired to Geneva, where he was chosen professor of divinity. Soon after, however, he was entreated by Leaver, Fox, and other friends, to return to England, at the time when the nation was agitated by the question of the Queen's marriage, first with the Duke of Anjou, and, after the breaking up of that treaty, with the Duke of Alençon, the brother of the former Prince,—both zealous Catholics.* The Lord Treasurer Cecil, Lord Burghley, asked Cartwright's opinion on the question :—"Whether it was lawful for one professing the gospel to marry a Papist ;" to which Cartwright replied : †—"My answer is very plain ; he may not do it. If we consider how ill a match it is in itself, and how evil it is, in respect of those outward forms of idolatry. . . . I am not advised of any objections that are worthy the answering. As for that which is commonly said, that they are Christians by common profession, and that they are much better than those other idolatrous people, and therefore, that it should seem that they are less dangerous in this matter,—both these points being the substance of the treaty itself, are sufficiently answered. So I, for my part, am fully resolved that it is directly by the scripture forbidden that any that professeth religion according to the word of God, should marry with any that professeth the same after the manner of the Church of Rome, being so corrupt, as in these days of ours we find it to be."

While this treaty of the Queen's marriage was going on, it "inspired with the justest alarm her most faithful subjects ;" the pulpit rang with the alarm ; it was kindled and spread by the press. Though the Queen's Council had favoured the project, through obsequiousness to her Majesty, and Leicester, Walsingham, and Hutton, had sub-

* Dr. Lingard says the latter was thought to incline to the tenets of Protestantism. Vol. iii. chap. ii. p. 95.

† The paper is no. xv., in the Appendix to vol. ii. of Strype's Annals.

Is deprived
and retires to
Geneva.

Treaty of
Marriage for
the Queen.

scribed a paper relating to the arrangements of the marriage, yet the ladies of her Majesty's court prayed her not to sully her Protestant fame by marrying a Popish husband. Sir Philip Sydney wrote to her a spirited private remonstrance against the marriage.*

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CHAP. IV.

Mr. John Stubbs, of Lincoln's Inn, brother-in-law to Cartwright, and a friend of Spenser the poet, who had not the privilege of private access to the Queen, roused the popular mind by a pamphlet, entitled, "The Discovery of the Gaping Gulf whereinto England is likely to be swallowed by another French Marriage, if the Lord forbid not the Banns," &c. Stubbs' pamphlet.

This pamphlet was represented as accusing the Queen's ministers of ingratitude; the Queen herself of degenerating from her former virtue; the French Prince and his nation of the most odious vices; and the marriage as "an impious and sacrilegious union between a daughter of God and a son of devil."† The Queen vindicated the French Prince and his favourite minister, in a proclamation; and ordered the pamphlet to be burned by the common hangman. The Court of the Queen's Bench condemned the author, publisher, and printer, to have their right hands cut off, and to be imprisoned during her Majesty's pleasure. The printer was pardoned. The author and publisher petitioned for mercy in vain. In the Market-place of Westminster, Stubbs appeared on the scaffold, and delivered a speech.‡ His right hand was

* This admirable letter is printed from the Cabala in Strype's Annals, vol. ii. ap. no. xix.

† Mr. Hallam says, "it is very far from being what some have ignorantly or unjustly called it, a virulent libel, but written in a sensible manner, and with unfeigned loyalty and affection towards the Queen."—*Con. Hist. Eng.* 4to. vol. i. p. 250.

‡ "What a grief it is to the body to lose one of his members you all know. I am come hither to receive my punishment according to the law. I am sorry for the loss of my hand, and more sorry to lose it by judgment, but most of all with her Majesty's indignation and evil opinion, whom I have so highly displeased. Before I was condemned I might speak for my innocence; but now my mouth is stopped by judgment, to the which I submit myself, and am content patiently to endure whatever it pleaseth God, of his secret providence, to lay upon me, and take it justly deserved for my sins; and I pray God it may be an example to you all, that it being so dangerous to offend the laws, without an evil meaning, as breedeth the loss of a hand, you may use your hands holily, and pray to God for the long preservation of her Majesty over you; whom God hath used as an instrument for a long peace and many blessings over us; and especially for his gospel, whereby she hath made a way for us to rest and quietness to our consciences. For the French I force not; but my greatest grief is, in so many weeks and days of imprisonment, her Majesty hath not once thought me worthy of her mercy, which she hath oftentimes

BOOK II. smitten off by a butcher's knife and mallet. With his
 CHAP. IV. left hand he waved his cap, crying out, "Long live the
 Queen!" Page, the publisher, after suffering the same
 punishment, said firmly—"There lies the hand of a true
 Englishman."

Persevering
 intolerance
 of the
 government.

"Dalton, a lawyer, and Monson, a judge of the Common
 Pleas, questioned the legality of the sentence, which was
 founded on some barbarous laws of Queen Mary against
 the Protestants. The former was imprisoned; the latter
 retired, or was removed, from the bench." *

After almost a year's imprisonment, Stubbs, with his
 left hand, wrote to Lord Burghley, praying him to be
 "an honourable and helping hand" to obtain her Ma-
 jesty's royal heart for his release: his wife at the same
 time presented an unsuccessful petition to the Queen for
 his discharge.†

Further ex-
 position of
 Puritan
 views.

In 1572, the noted publication entitled, "An Admoni-
 tion to Parliament for the Reformation of Church Dis-
 cipline," was set forth, embodying the Puritan views of
 the discipline of the Christian Church; its character;
 the choice, duties, and equality of ministers; displaying
 the corruptions of the Anglican hierarchy; exposing the
 arbitrary proceedings of bishops; and praying the parlia-
 ment to *establish by law* a church discipline more agree-
 able to the word of God.—The letters of Beza to the
 Earl of Leicester, and Gaultier to Bishop Parkhurst, were
 appended to the volume. This famous book was written
 by Mr. John Field, and Mr. Thomas Wilcox, the intimate

extended to divers persons in greater offences. For my hand I esteem it not
 so much; for I think I could have saved it, and might do yet; but I will not
 have a guiltless heart and an infamous hand. I pray you all to pray with me
 that God will strengthen me to endure and abide the pain that I am to suffer;
 and grant me this grace, that the loss of my hand do not withdraw any part
 of my duty and affection toward her Majesty, and because, when so many
 veins of blood are opened, it is uncertain how they may be stayed, and what
 will be the event thereof." The hand ready on the block to be stricken off,
 he said often to the people:—"Pray for me now my calamity is at hand."—
Hamnестon's Nugæ.

* Macintosh's History of England, vol. iii. p. 280. Dr. Lingard says that
 Stubbs was condemned by "a good and necessary law," passed in the first
 year of Elizabeth, and refers for his authority to the Statutes of the Realm,
 iv. 366.

† In 1587, this same Stubbs was employed by Burghley in writing a
 "Vindication of the English Justice," in answer to Cardinal Allen's Defence
 of the English Catholics.—*Camden's Elizabeth*, p. 378. *Hugoe Antique*, chap. 1.
 pp. 143-158. *Strype's Annals*, vol. iii. p. 480. *Brooke's Life of Cartwright*, pp.
 94, 95.

friend of Sir Peter Wentworth, the great champion of civil and religious liberty in this reign. For presenting this book to the parliament, the authors were sent to prison; and Bishop Aylmer committed a man to prison for selling it. Strype says that the book had been printed and reprinted privately, no less than four times, (in such vogue it was,) notwithstanding all the diligence of the bishops to suppress it.*

"The *Admonition* was followed by three other treatises, addressed to Dr. Whitgift. The first was introductory to the two others. The second was 'An Exhortation to the Bishops to deal Brotherly with their Brethren.' The third was 'An Exhortation to the Bishops and Clergy to Answer a Little Book that came forth in the Last Parliament.'"†

Having suffered in their health from long confinement in "a loathsome prison," Mr. Field and Mr. Wilcox petitioned the Earl of Leicester to obtain for them a less miserable jail; while their wives and children, painfully describing their sufferings and their poverty, prayed to the same nobleman to use his influence with the Queen for their discharge. These petitions being disregarded, and their confinement still continuing,—after the time for which they were sentenced had expired,—they addressed a humble petition to the Lords of the Council, as well as one not less humble to the Earl of Leicester, begging him to forward that to the council.

Sufferings of
the prisoners.

It was during the imprisonment of the writers‡ that Dr. Whitgift, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, was set to work by Archbishop Parker to answer "The *Admonition*;" in which answer he charged the authors as disturbers of good order; enemies to the state; and holding many dangerous heresies. To refute these charges, the prisoners in Newgate published, "A Brief Confession of Faith, written by the Authors of the First *Admonition* to Parliament; to testify their persuasion in the Faith; against the uncharitable surmises and suspicions of Dr. Whitgift, uttered in his *Answer to the Admonition*:" in defence both of themselves

Whitgift's
Answer to
the *Admonition*.

* Strype's Parker, b. iv. c. ii.

† Brook's Life of Cartwright, p. 98.

‡ Strype says that they were cherished by frequent visits of divers ministers and preachers that resorted to them, namely, Wighorn, Cartwright, Deering, Humphrey, Leaver, Crowley, Johnson, and Brown. Dr. Fuller also visited them.—Life of Parker, b. iv. c. 23.

BOOK II
CHAP. IV

and their brethren." In the same month in which this confession was published, Bishop Parker sent one of his chaplains, named Pearson, to hold a conference with the writers, in the presence of their keeper. This conference, which is long, and very interesting, is printed, from the manuscript in Dr. Williams' Library, by Mr. Brook.*

Dr. Whitgift's answer to the admonition is an acute, learned, and able performance, grounded mainly on the Erastian† principle, (held by Parker, and apparently by Grindal,) that no form of church order is laid down in Scripture.

Grounds of
agreement.

He grounds this opinion on such arguments as these : that there is no command in Scripture for the government of the Church ; that the government in the Apostles' time cannot now be exercised ; that the word "governments," implieth not government by elders ; that the Apostolic government hath *by necessity* been altered ; and that the general opinion of the best writers,—as Musculus, Gaultier, Calvin, and Beza,—take the same view. He concludes that the ground taken by the Puritans of his day is "contrary to the Scriptures, the opinions of learned men, and *the lawful and just authority of Christian princes* ; and, therefore, the building is ruinous and cannot stand."‡

Cartwright's
Answer.

It is stated by Strype that Archbishop Parker, as well as other learned divines, assisted Whitgift in this elaborate performance. Mr. Cartwright, who had published *A Second Admonition*, was chosen by his Puritan brethren to answer Dr. Whitgift ; this he did, the year after the publication of the Doctor's answer, in a "Reply to an Answer made by M. Doctor Whitgift against the Admonition to the Parliament." He discusses the standard of judgment in this question ; the election of ministers ; the officers of churches ; clerical habits ; bishops and archbishops ; authority of princes in ecclesiastical matters ; confirmation by a bishop.

* *Lives of the Puritans*, vol. ii. pp. 185—190.

† The term Erastian is derived from Erastus, a German physician in the sixteenth century. His work, "*De Excommunicatione*," has been translated from the Latin by Dr. Lee of Edinburgh. Warburton, in his notes on Neal, states, on the authority of Selden, that Whitgift published this work anonymously in London. The principle is the same with that of Hooker, in his "*Ecclesiastical Polity*," recognising the Church as nothing else than a member of the general body called the State, and as having, by right, no coercive power, especially the power of excommunication, excepting by the arm of the civil magistrate.

‡ Defence of the Answer to the Admonition, pp. 15, 74.

The impression produced by this Reply can scarcely be conceived by those who have not studied the history of those times. The bishops were alarmed. The Queen was angry. A proclamation was issued denouncing both the "Admonition" and the "Reply," charging her Majesty's subjects to keep, and to cause others to keep, the order of divine service set forth in the Book of Common Prayer, and none other contrary or repugnant, upon pain of her Majesty's highest indignation, and of other pains in the act comprised; commanding every printer, stationer, bookbinder, merchant, and all other men who may have the custody of the said books, to bring the same *to the bishop of the diocese*, or to one of her Highness' Privy Council, within twenty days after he shall have notice of this proclamation, on pain of imprisonment and her Highness' further displeasure.

Of this proclamation, we are assured, Archbishop Parker was a principal promoter. But so little success attended it, and so favourably was Cartwright's book received in London, that, at the expiration of the twenty days, *not one copy* was brought to the Bishop of London; though, as Strype says, one need not doubt there were some thousands of them dispersed in the city, and other parts of his diocese; and, the bishops thought, that not many were brought to the Lords of the Council.*

In the judgment of Archbishop Parker all this tended to the ruin of religion and learning, the spoiling of the patrimony of the Church, and the overthrow of the state.†

How deadly the Queen's hatred of the Puritanism which so much alarmed the bishops was, may be gathered from her language to Malvesier, the French ambassador: "She would maintain the religion that she was crowned in, and that she was baptized in; and would suppress the Papistical religion that it should not grow; but that she would root out Puritanism, and the favourers thereof."‡

The Queen's
hatred of
Puritanism.

The books thus so firmly retained, notwithstanding the royal proclamation, were casting the seeds of thought and

* Dr. Sandys, Bishop of London, said, in a letter to Lord Burghley, he had been desired to look into Mr. Cartwright's book, and see what good stuff was to be found there, but the truth was, he could never obtain it though it was current among many.—Burghley MSS. vol. xvii. no. 30, in the Lansdowne Collection.

† Strype's Life of Parker, b. iv. c. 26.

‡ Malvesier's Letters, quoted by Strype. Annals, vol. ii. p. 563.

BOOK II. action into many minds. A strong tide of popular feeling
 CHAP. IV. was setting in against the bishops. The Puritan books
 were multiplied by secret presses, for which the commis-
 sioners diligently searched, but in vain. Whitgift's book
 was unpopular at Cambridge. At the universities, in Lon-
 don, and in many parts of the country, some of the best
 and ablest men were siding with the Puritans.

Nicholas
Brown im-
prisoned.

Nicholas Brown, B.D., and fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and a university preacher, was imprisoned for preaching against the existing state of things, and for refusing publicly to recant. Lord Burghley addressed Dr. Whitgift, the Vice-Chancellor, on his behalf; but apparently without any effect.

Dr. Browning
deprived.

Dr. John Browning, senior fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, was deprived of his fellowship, and suffered what the Earl of Bedford called "hard dealing;" but which Strype seems to think he well deserved as a turbulent and hot-spirited "noncomplier."

Edward
Deering si-
lenced.

Mr. Edward Deering, B.D., chaplain to the Duke of Norfolk, was silenced, at a time when he was eminent as reader at St. Paul's, even though the Bishop of London acknowledged that he could not accuse him of the crimes with which he had been charged before the Privy Council. In a long and strictly private letter to Lord Burghley, he refers to this acknowledgment of the Bishop; and he adds:—"Which discharge, as I was glad to hear, so would I have been much gladder, if, upon so free a confession, he would favourably have restored me to my lecture again. But now it is that they know my mind; and long since they have had me in suspicion; therefore they would provide, in time, to take my lecture from me, lest I should speak anything to offend them hereafter. This doing, though it be somewhat strange to punish a man *before*, lest hereafter he should offend; yet I am contented with it, and leave it unto them, that should be as grieved to see so great a congregation so dispersed."*

Charges
against him.

The charges brought against Mr. Deering, before the Lords of the Council, in the Star Chamber, were, mainly, for speaking against godfathers, and for prophesying that "Matthew Parker is the last archbishop that ever shall sit in that

seat." These offences were reported to have been committed at a public dinner, where he had read a chapter, Dr. Chadderton and others being present. His letter to the Lords of the Star Chamber is preserved in the Burghley manuscripts. BOOK II
CHAP. IV

"It grieveth me," he says, "to see one pretend the person of Christ, and to speak words of so great vanity. And yet this is but one man among many whom, if it pleased God, I would your honours did hear. But because I am not to accuse others, but to purge myself, I leave this, and will answer to one accusation, which is yet against me, touching my Lord of Canterbury. His reply.

"I am charged that I put off my cap, bad them hearken, and said—Now will I prophesy, '*Matthew Parker is the last archbishop that ever shall sit in that seat.* Mr. Cartwright should say, *Accipio omen.*' To this I answer, that I have confessed what I said; and here I send it, witnessed by their hands that heard it. I put off no cap, nor spake of any prophecy. But Mr. Blage, commending much a book which he was about, of the Archbishops of Canterbury's Lives, I said merrily, as before a sick man, in whose chamber we were, *that he should do well to be somewhat long in this bishop's life; for peradventure he should be the last that should sit in that place.*

"I do not excuse these words; but leave to your honours to consider the weight of them; and I beseech God to give me that grace, that hereafter I may be careful that I may speak so as Paul saith, that in all my words I may bring grace to the hearers. Only this I beseech your honours with favour to remember, that, seeing my private speeches so long time have been so narrowly watched, *if mine open preaching had been more faulty, it had been more easily known.* And thus I have further to trouble your honours; offering myself ready in what place soever I may be thought profitable to the Church of Christ. I beseech the living God long to keep you, to his honour and glory, and your endless comfort."*

Before the bishops would consent to restore him to his ministry, they required him to acknowledge and subscribe the following propositions:— Required
subscription.

* Strype's Annals, vol. ii. no. xxviii.

BOOK II.
CHAP. IV

I. That the Book of Articles agreed upon at the Synod, 1563, was sound, and according to the word of God.

II. That the Queen's majesty was the chief governor, next under Christ, of this Church of England, as well in ecclesiastical as in civil causes.

III. That in the Book of Common Prayer was nothing evil, or repugnant to the word of God ; but that it might be well used in this our Church of England.

IV. That the public preaching of the word of God in this church was sound and sincere ; and the public order in the ministration of the sacraments was consonant to the word of God.

To the second of these articles, respecting the Queen's supremacy, he offered no objections. To each of the others he made separate objections ; and he concluded his answer by saying: " See, I beseech you, what wrong I sustain, if I be urged to this subscription. While any law did bind me to wear cap and surplice, I wore both. When I was at liberty, surely I would not wear them for devotion. I never persuaded any to refuse them ; nor am I charged with ever preaching against them. Thus, according to my promise, I have set down how far I would yield in these articles which your worship sent me. If I seem curious, or to stand upon little points, conscience, it should be remembered, is very tender, and will not yield contrary to its persuasion of the truth. I have sent you these articles, subscribed with mine own hand, and sealed with my heart, even in the presence of God, whom I humbly beseech, for Christ's sake, to give peace unto his Church, that her ministers may rejoice, and her subjects be glad."*

His answers. In addition to the four articles to which Deering thus replied, there were twenty others, gathered from Cartwright's book, to all of which he gave free and distinct answers, with the following preface :—" I humbly beseech your honours to remember my former protestation, that I never spoke against the book of prayers ; and in my book, in print, I have spoken openly for the allowance of it. I resort to common prayers : and sometimes being requested, I say the prayers as prescribed. If I be now urged to speak what I

* Strype's Annals, vol. ii. b. i. c. 28.—Part of a Register, pp. 81—88.—Brook's Lives of the Puritans, vol. i. pp. 199—201.

think, as before an inquisition—their being no law of God requiring me to accuse myself, I beseech your honours, let my answer witness my humble duty and obedience rather than be prejudicial and hurtful to me. This I most humbly crave, and, under the persuasion of your favour, I will answer boldly, as I am required.”

Dr. Sandys, Bishop of London, obtained the removal of Deering’s suspension by the Lords of the Council, for which he incurred the displeasure both of the Lord Treasurer and of the Queen. Dr. Cox, Bishop of Ely, remonstrated against the council, for acting in this manner without the spiritual authority of ecclesiastics. Even the Bishop of London soon changed his mind. Through his influence at court, Deering was finally silenced by a warrant from the Queen.

Dr. Sandys-
interference.

The year after Deering’s removal from his lectureship at St. Paul’s, Dr. Sampson, now too old and afflicted to perform his duties at Whittington College, made an unsuccessful attempt, in a letter to Lord Burghley, to procure the appointment of Deering as his successor.

There is a beautiful account of “The Life and Death of Edward Deering, who died Anno Christi, 1576,” in Fuller’s *Abel Redivivus*.

It was not enough that Cartwright, the great abettor of Puritanism, should suffer deprivation. The Queen determined to bring him to trial; and she gave orders to the ecclesiastical commissioners to apprehend him. Grindal, Archbishop of York, wrote to Parker, Archbishop of London, informing him that Cartwright was lodged in the house of Mr. Martin, goldsmith in Cheapside. But Cartwright escaped the vigilance of his pursuers, and found refuge at Heidelberg.*

Farther per-
secution of
Cartwright

Archbishop Parker, perceiving that the Puritan party could not be put down by mere authority, wrote a letter to Dr. Whitgift, exhorting and encouraging him to defend his Answer to the Admonition. Thus encouraged, Whitgift brought out his “Defence of the Answer to the Admonition, against the Reply of T. C.”—a folio volume of more than eight hundred pages. In this Defence he first reprints what he had said in his Answer, then he reprints what Cart-

* Strype’s Parker, b. iv. c. 23.—Wilcox’s Letter to Gilby, Baker’s MSS, (University Library, Cambridge,) vol. xxxil. p. 440.

BOOK II. wright had said on that passage in his Reply ; after that,
CHAP. IV. he examines, and professes to refute, Cartwright's objections.

From his place of exile, in his sickness, and pressed by heavy labours, Cartwright published "The Second Reply of Thomas Cartwright, against Master Dr. Whitgift's Second Answer, touching the Church Discipline, and the rest of the Second Reply."*

His friend-
ship with
foreign di-
vines.

During his forced absence from England, Mr. Cartwright enjoyed the friendship of Beza, and of Junius, the fellow-labourer with Tremellius in the Latin translation of the Bible, who highly valued him for his piety and learning. He served the congregations of British merchants as their minister, both at Middleburg, and at Antwerp. While he lived at Antwerp he wrote a preface to a work of Travers : — "A Full and Plain Declaration of Ecclesiastical Discipline, out of the Word of God, and of the Declining of the Church of England from the same."

He was invited by the French Protestants, whom the English governors of Jersey and Guernsey encouraged in those islands, to join Mr. Edward Snape, another English minister, to aid them in drawing up their ecclesiastical discipline.

Cartwright's
marriage.

Having completed this service, he returned to Antwerp. He married the sister of Mr. John Stubbs, whose barbarous sufferings have been mentioned. Strype has preserved a letter written by Stubbs from Buxton to Mr. Hicks, Lord Burghley's secretary, in which he says:—"We have no news here, but that Cartwright hath married my sister; and if with you, also, it be publicly known, and any mislike mine act in providing so for my sister, tell him, on my behalf, that I contented myself to take a husband for her whose livelihood was learning; who would endue his wife with wisdom; and who might leave to his children the rich portion of godliness by Christian careful education."

* The reader who wishes to understand this famous controversy will find the substance of it in the "History of Protestant Nonconformity in England, by Thomas Price, D.D.," and in the "Memoir of the Life and Writings of Thomas Cartwright, B.D., by the Rev. B. Brook." In these works there is a perfect refutation of the statement of Fuller, Heylin, Collier, and other historians, that Cartwright left Whitgift master of the field possessed of all the signs of an absolute victory. The Answer to Cartwright's last Reply was given, not by Whitgift, but by Hooker, in his "Ecclesiastical Polity." The Second Reply was published in London, in 1575. The two Replies were published in one volume, in London, in 1577. Both these works are in Dr. Williams' Library.

“And if this apology will not defend me, let him not marvel if I, esteeming these things as precious stones, while he rather chooseth the worldly commended things, riches, favour, &c., which I esteem less worth than a barley-corn.”*

BOOK II.
CHAP. IV.

The suffering, but determined, Puritans in England kept up a correspondence with their absent friend at Antwerp. One of their letters, which illustrates their spirit, we copy from one of the manuscripts in Dr. Williams' Library :

Correspondence with the English Puritans.

“We stand resolved that what we have done concerning the ceremonies, the cross in baptism, &c., is most agreeable to the Word of God and the testimony of a good conscience. By the help of God we will labour even in all things to the utmost of our power, to be found faithful and approved, before God and men ; and, therefore, we will not betray that truth which it hath pleased God in his great goodness to make known unto us. You will know we do nothing *contentiously* : therein we are clear before God and man. But we wish you to understand that the iniquitous times in which we live, and the great trials which we, as well as you, have to endure in the cause of God, and a thousand such afflictions shall not—the Lord helping us—make us shrink from the maintenance of his truth. The same good opinion we have conceived of you, not doubting that he who hath hitherto made you a glorious witness of truth will still enable you to go forward in the same course. And yet we think it meet, both on account of our own dulness, and the evil days come upon us, that we should quicken one another in so good a cause. We deal thus with you, whom, both for learning and godliness, we very much love and reverence in the Lord ; and we commit you to God, and the word of his grace, which is able, and no doubt will, in due time, further build up both you and us to the glory of his name, and our endless comfort in Christ.”†

In the dedication of his Latin Homilies on Ecclesiastes, to King James, Cartwright makes grateful mention of the honour which his Majesty had done him in his exile, by offering him a professorship in the University of St. Andrews.

Favourably noticed by the Scottish King.

* Strype's Annals, vol. ii. b. 2. c. 10.

† The second part of a Register, in Dr. Williams' Library, p. 896.

BOOK II. During his abode at Antwerp, he was assisted in ministering
 CHAP. IV. to the English congregation by Mr. Dudley Fenner, who had
 formerly been his tutor at Cambridge, whom he regarded
 with deep veneration and love, and to whose *Sacra Theologia*,
 published at Amsterdam, he prefixed a commendatory
 epistle.

Returns to
 England by
 advice of his
 physicians.

Is cast into
 prison.

Returns to
 Warwick.

Mr. Cartwright's constitution had been so shaken by disease, that he was advised by his physicians to try his native air. Knowing that he could not land in England without the danger of being apprehended as a promoter of sedition, he wrote an epistle in elegant Latin to Lord Burghley, apologizing for himself, giving an account of his behaviour while abroad, and praying his Lordship to use his influence with the Queen for his safety. He wrote, also, to the Earl of Leicester, and to the Privy Council. Though the sympathy of the House of Lords was appealed to, and his noble patrons made intercession for him with the Queen, no sooner did he reach his native shore than he was cast into prison by *Dr. Aylmer, Bishop of London*. This unwarranted stretch of power, however, brought upon the heartless prelate her Majesty's displeasure, which was conveyed to him in a dignified rebuke from Lord Burghley. After suffering imprisonment for some months, Cartwright was released by his old adversary Whitgift, now Archbishop of Canterbury. It was to the interposition of Lord Burghley that he owed his deliverance. Though released from prison, he could not preach without the Archbishop's license, and this was refused. Under the patronage of the Earl of Leicester he retired to the mastership of the hospital recently founded by that nobleman at Warwick. Here he was free from Episcopal jurisdiction; and he employed himself in praying with the brethren of the hospital, catechizing them on the Sunday; preaching in the parish church, and, once a week, at St. Mary's. He also united with his Puritan brethren in those measures for the further reform of the Church, which remain to be more fully described.

Interdicted
 refuting the
 Rhemish
 New
 Testament.

While living in this retirement Mr. Cartwright was urged by the solicitations of learned men, and encouraged by the patronage of both Leicester and Walsingham, to prepare an elaborate refutation of the Rhemish translation of the New Testament, which had been lately put forth by the Roman

Catholics. As soon as Archbishop Whitgift was made acquainted with his design, he forbade the author to proceed in it.*

BOOK II.
CHAP. IV.

“It seems Walsingham was Secretary of State, not of religion, wherein the Archbishop overpowered him. Many commended his care not to intrust the defence of the doctrine of England to a few so disaffected to the discipline thereof. Others blamed his jealousy to deprive the Church of such learned pains of him whose judgment would so solidly, and affections so zealously, confute the public adversary. Distasteful passages—shooting at Rome, but glancing at Canterbury—if any such were found in his book, might be expunged; whilst it was a pity so good fruit should be blasted in the bud, for some bad leaves about it. Disheartened hereat, Cartwright desisted, but some years after, encouraged by an honourable lord, resumed the work; but, prevented by death, perfected no further than the fifteenth chapter of Revelation. Many years lay this worthy work neglected, and the copy mouse-eaten in part, when the printer excused some defects therein in his edition, which, though late, at last came forth, *Anno* 1618. A book which, notwithstanding the foresaid defects, is so complete, that the Rhemists durst never return the least answer thereto.”†

The Queen’s displeasure with Cartwright encouraged some of his enemies. He was accused before Dr. Edmund Freke, who had lately been translated from Rochester to Worcester, “where he was a zealous assertor of the Church discipline.”‡

Summoned
before Bishop
Freke.

When summoned before this prelate, Cartwright was attended by some of the more liberal of the nobility, when his behaviour was so calm and prudent, that he was dismissed without punishment, though Dr. John Longworth, once a fellow of the same college with him, had spared no pains to alarm and to provoke him.

Mr. Brook has printed, from previously unpublished documents, an interesting letter of Cartwright’s, illustrating his views of those who separated from the Church of Eng-

Cartwright’s
views of
schism.

* Strype’s Whitgift, pp. 253, 254.

† Fuller’s Church History, b. ix. s. vi.

‡ Wood’s Athen. Oxon. vol. I. p. 105.

BOOK II.
CHAP. IV.

land. This letter is addressed to Mrs. Stubbs, whose husband, it will be remembered, was Mr. Cartwright's brother-in-law. This lady had joined the sect of the Brownists, and had sent to her learned relative a written defence of her opinions. Mr. Cartwright not only answered this letter, but also wrote a "Reproof of Certain Schismatical Persons, in their Doctrine concerning the Hearing and Preaching of the Word of God," and published in the same strain "An Answer unto a Letter of Master Harrison's," which was printed at Middleburgh. All these papers show that Mr. Cartwright's aim as a Puritan was not to destroy the Church of England, nor to forsake its ministry, but to adjust its discipline by what he believed to be the word of God.

Summoned
before the
Court of High
Commission.

Imprisoned
in the Fleet.

For his conscientious labours on this principle, he was charged by Archbishop Whitgift before the Court of High Commission with a long list of offences against the order of the Church of England, its ministry, ordinances, and forms. To these charges he was required to give answers on his oath *ex officio*.* Mr. Cartwright could not take *that* oath, though he was willing to clear himself on his oath, of the charges which were most criminal. He was imprisoned in the Fleet. The Lords of the Council addressed the Archbishop and the Bishop of London, earnestly desiring them to take some charitable consideration of this and similar causes; that "the people of the realm might not be deprived of their pastors, being diligent, learned, and zealous though, in some points ceremonial, they might seem doubtful only in conscience and not of wilfulness." Burghley, the Lord Treasurer, writing to the Archbishop respecting the articles of accusation, says of them, "which I find so curiously penned, so full of branches and circumstances, that I think the Inquisition of Spain use not so many questions to comprehend and entrap their preys. I know your canonists can defend them with all their articles. But surely, under your grace's correction, this juridical and canonical sifting of

* This oath was made use of in the spiritual courts, whereof the High Commission Court in particular, made a most extravagant and illegal use, forming a court of inquisition in which all persons were obliged to answer in cases of bare suspicion, if the commissioners thought proper to proceed against them *ex officio* for any supposed ecclesiastical enormities. When the High Commission Court was abolished by statute 16, car. i. c. 11, this oath *ex officio* was abolished with it.—Blackstone's Commentaries, b. iii. c. 27.

poor ministers is not to edify and reform. And in charity I think they ought not to answer to all these nice points, except they were very notorious offenders in Papistry or heresy. . . . According to my simple judgment, this kind of proceeding is too much savouring the Romish Inquisition, and is rather a device to seek for offenders than to reform any.”*

BOOK II.
CHAP. IV.

The King of the Scots (James VI.) at the same time wrote to his “dearest sister and cousin,” Queen Elizabeth, requesting her, for his sake, to “let the Puritan ministers be relieved of their present strait.” Fuller makes his own quaint remarks on this and the other letters, and adds:—“One word from Archbishop Whitgift befriended Mr. Cartwright more than both the letters from the King of Scotland. This prelate, reflecting on his abilities, and their ancient acquaintance in Trinity College, and remembering as an honourable adversary, they had brandished pens one against another, and considering that both of them were now stricken in years, and some will say, fearing the success in so tough a conflict, on Mr. Cartwright’s general promise to be quiet, procured his dismissal out of the Star Chamber and prison wherein he was confined.”†

Intercession
of the Scot-
tish King.

Dismission of
Cartwright.

This is not a fair representation. It was not till Mr. Cartwright had suffered heavy distress in prison, nor, even then, was it without long and urgent applications from persons in high station, that his dismissal was procured. The Archbishop required him to subscribe a most degrading recantation, which, with his fellow-sufferers, he refused. He joined with the others in a manly and pathetic appeal to the Queen. Mr. Brook, who has fully examined all the documents bearing on the subject, some of which he has published for the first time from manuscripts, concludes the account of this part of Mr. Cartwright’s life in these words: “Whether this deliverance was an act of ‘favour,’ or of justice, the reader will be able to judge; and how far it was procured by the efforts of Whitgift will best appear from other testimony. One author ascribes Mr. Cartwright’s release to the Lords of the Council as a body, and that it

* Fuller’s Church History, b. ix. a.

† Ibid, b. ix. a. 6, 31.

BOOK II.
CHAP. IV

was their *honours'* pleasure 'to deliver him from confinement;' and the other declares that 'Whitgift only gave his *consent* to Mr. Cartwright's discharge,' which was undoubtedly become a matter of expediency, for which no great degree of praise was due to him."^{*}

Letter to
Lord Burgh-
ley.

It is certain, however, that the Lord Treasurer Burghley procured for the prisoners their final release from prison: of this act of justice, which could not be forgotten, Mr. Cartwright cherished a deep sense, and presented to his Lordship his warmest thanks, as expressed in the following letter:

"RIGHT HONOURABLE,

"The Persians, according to Xenophon, punished an unthankful man as a criminal, which sin, if it were so among heathens, it ought to be of much more evil report among Christians, taught in a far better school of thankfulness than they are. But among all others, it would be of the foulest and blackest note in the ministers of the word, who, teaching thankfulness to others, and to God, in being unmindful, receive against themselves a deep condemnation. Wherefore, having felt of your benevolent and honourable favour before in prison, and now much more in some liberty which I now enjoy, I thought it my part, as soon as I got out of the physician's hands, as out of a second prison, to testify to your Lordship my dutiful remembrance of so great a benefit, whereof your Lordship hath been so singular a means. Which thing having only touched, lest in desiring and endeavouring some duty, I should be found troublesome to your Lordship, and injurious to others, who, by your honourable travails, enjoy peace, that which remains I will supply with my daily prayers to Almighty God, that, together with long life, he would daily bless your Lordship with increase of all other of his heavenly blessings, which, in his infinite wisdom, he knoweth best to agree with your honourable calling.

"From Hackney, the 21st May, 1592, your Lordship's most humbly to command."[†]

^{*} Sutcliffe's Exam., p. 45. Strype's Whitgift, p. 370.

[†] Lansdowne MSS., vol. xxii. art. 51. Brook's Memoir of Cartwright, pp. 414, 415.

Though released from prison, Mr. Cartwright still laboured under her Majesty's displeasure. She commanded the bishops to suspend him. Even when he preached in the hospital at Warwick, where he was beyond the reach of episcopal control, *the people* who flocked to hear him were prosecuted in the spiritual courts.

BOOK II.
CHAP. IV.

Several of Mr. Cartwright's latter years were spent in Guernsey ; but he died at Warwick, where he laboured, in much affliction, to the last. His final sermon, the Sunday before he died, was on the subject of death, and it has been not unfitly denominated "his own funeral sermon." On Tuesday morning he spent two hours in prayer, and before his departure, he told his wife that he had enjoyed "unutterable comfort and happiness, and that God had given him a glimpse of heaven."

Cartwright's death.

Cartwright has always been regarded as the leader of the more moderate Puritans ; and we have seen how he suffered for his labours in bringing about a farther reformation in the Church. It must be acknowledged that he was far from those views of toleration which have prevailed in later times. There are many passages in his writings which prove that even if he had succeeded in establishing the discipline in the Church of England for which he contended, as agreeing with the word of God, he was not more disposed than any of his adversaries, to respect the *liberty of conscience*, and to leave religious errors to be dealt with merely by *religious* means. Sensible as he was of the injustice done to himself by the restrictions under which he was placed, and by the punishments he was made to bear, we are not prepared to say that he would have thought it wrong to inflict similar severities on some at least, of those who differed from him. He expressly says that "the magistrate ought to enforce the attendance of *Papists* and *Atheists* on the services of the Church ; to *punish* them if they did not profit by the preaching they might hear ; to *increase* the punishment if they gave signs of contempt ; and if at last they proved utterly impenitent, to *cut them off*, that they might not corrupt and infect others."*

His ideas of toleration.

Other less distinguished men, avowing the same principles, shared the same fate. It were but the repetition of a

* Reply to Whitgift's Defence, p. 51.

BOOK II. wearisome tale to particularize the labours and sufferings of
 CHAP. IV. them all, even though it were practicable.

Enforcement
 of the Act of
 Uniformity.

In 1574, the Queen had issued her proclamation, lamenting the spread of Nonconformity, blaming the bishops and the magistrates for negligence, requiring the act of uniformity to be executed with diligence and severity, and specially charging all persons in ecclesiastical authority to proceed against all Nonconformists with "celerity and severity," on pain of her Majesty's high displeasure for their negligence, and deprivation from their dignities and benefices, and other censures to follow, according to their demerits.*

The proclamation was followed by commissions to the bishop of each diocese, and other persons in the several counties. But, as Strype says, "these commissioners were not seldom friends to these men; and the physicians themselves were sick, as the Bishop of Ely, speaking of these commissioners, confessed himself to the Archbishop."

Archbishop Parker was deeply grieved, according to his historian, at the secret favour shown by some at court to the Puritans; and he made no scruple of saying that the encouragement given to the Nonconformists would not end in the overthrow of the episcopal orders, but would bring down the nobility of England to the level of the lowest subjects.† In a letter to Burghley, he said, "he knew the Nonconformists to be cowards, and that if the Privy Council did not continue to prosecute them, her Majesty's government would be endangered."

Birchett, a
 maniac.

A poor maniac of the name of Birchett, of the Middle Temple, having stabbed Mr. Hawkins, an officer of the navy, in the Strand, was asked at his examination, if he knew Mr. Hawkins. He replied that he took him for Mr. Hatton,‡ captain of the guards, one of her Majesty's privy

* Strype's Parker, b. iv. c. 33.

† Ibid, b. iv. c. 24, 33.

‡ Sir Christopher Hatton was the Queen's lover, distinguished through life for his vanity, idleness, dissipation, and hypocrisy, and the best dancer of his age. For many years the reigning favourite of Elizabeth's court, he moved the commitment of Wentworth to the Tower; was suspected of the murder of the Earl of Northumberland; took a leading part in the trial of Mary, Queen of Scots, and, in the House of Commons, violently urged her execution. On his appointment to the chancellorship, the leaders of the bar were filled with disgust and indignation. He was "quite at home when presiding in the Star Chamber." He died of a broken heart, when he saw himself abandoned for

chamber, whom the Spirit of God had commanded him to kill, as an enemy of God's word. When he was threatened with being burned as a heretic, he recanted. When the government were at a loss in what way to punish him, he killed his keeper with a billet, as he was reading a book in one of the windows of the Tower. For this murder he was tried at the King's Bench, when he confessed the crime, alleging that the keeper was Hatton. The next day his right hand was struck off on the spot where he had stabbed Hawkins, and immediately after he was hanged on a gibbet, where his corpse remained three days.

The Queen connected this madman's act with the Puritans; and honest Strype seems willing to fall into the same humour, for he calls Birchett a Puritan; and deals in mysterious hints about his having been at Mr. Sampson's lecture at Whittington College on the morning of the crime, although he says that "Birchett had been observed not long before to have been disturbed in his mind, and had talked frantically by fits," and he must surely have known that neither Sampson, nor any of the Puritans, could possibly have approved of the doings of a poor insane man.*

Yet is it gravely asserted that the accident which befell Hawkins made the Queen more jealous of the Puritans, and offended with them, and hastened another command from the court against them. A stringent letter was sent from the council to each of the bishops, laying on them the blame of the disorders in the Church, and more than insinuating that they and their officers were more attentive to getting money, and some other purposes, than to their proper duties, and by winking and dissembling at the necessary orders, rendered these proclamations and strict injunctions necessary.

Increased
jealousy of
the Puritans.

Though the bishops did not like this letter, they *obeyed*. Through all the dioceses, they required all the ministers who were suspected of Nonconformity to subscribe a declaration of their adherence to "the form and doctrine established in this realm."

younger favourites of the Queen. This profligate had the greatest influence with the Queen, in her resolute persecutions of the Puritans.—See *Lives of the Lord Chancellors*, by John, Lord Campbell, vol. ii. c. 45; Hallam's *Con. Hist. of England*, vol. i. c. 4.

* Strype's *Parker*, b. iv. c. 35.

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Spread of
Nonconfor-
mity.

Not the clergy only, but the laity, absented themselves in large numbers from the parish churches. These Englishmen dared to think for themselves on the affairs of their own souls ; to read the writings and hear the discourses of the most learned and conscientious ministers ; and to assemble for divine worship in a manner which they believed to be according to the word of God. For such offences they were brought before bishops and secular magistrates, where they were tortured with vexatious questions, rudely and contemptuously reviled, and required, on pain of imprisonment, to subscribe their names to a paper confessing that they had absented themselves from the parish church, praying for pardon, and promising to join the congregation in prayer, and in the use of the sacraments, according to the order established by public authority.*

Archbishop Parker had a copy of a protestation of the Puritans, "which," he says, "the congregation did severally swear, and after, took the communion, in ratification of their consent."† The protestation itself contains no doctrine or purpose which any honest man need be ashamed to avow, or which any government civil or ecclesiastical has received any right from God to prevent his avowing ; but there is no evidence beyond that of a manuscript found among Archbishop Parker's papers, in the library of Sir William Petyt, keeper of the records and rolls in the Tower, that any such protestation was signed ; and the Archbishop's mere declaration can scarcely be accepted as a proof of a thing so improbable as that it should be confirmed with an oath, and by the communion.

One of the most remarkable proceedings in the Church during the reign of Elizabeth was what Strype calls "a very commendable reformation,"—the meetings of the most learned of the ministers for the interpretation of the Scriptures. The first of these meetings was held with the approbation of the Bishop at Northampton. Afterwards they were established in most of the dioceses, the moderator of each meeting being nominated by the bishop.

The Queen heard that these *prophesyings*, as they were

• These forms of subscription, together with an account of the trial and imprisonment of several laymen for refusing to subscribe, are preserved in manuscript in Dr. Williams' library.

† Strype's Parker, b. v. c. 28

called, had been abused by the Puritan party, and she gave command to Archbishop Parker to send to all the bishops in the province of Canterbury, not to correct the abuses, or to inquire into them, but to put them down. Dr. Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, knowing how advantageous these exercises had been both to clergy and laity, wrote to the Archbishop, inquiring whether he was to suppress some vain speeches used in some of these conferences, or generally the whole order of such exercises. It was, he said, a right thing, necessary, and one to be continued unless it were abused, as it had not been, excepting in a few cases, in which the evil had been easily and promptly cured. Grindal, Bishop of London, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Walter Mildmay, and Sir Francis Knollys, hearing of the opposition to the prophesyings, joined in a letter to the Bishop of Norwich, requiring him not to hinder them, so long as they were not made occasions for teaching false doctrine, or disturbing the peace of the Church. The Archbishop, however, supported by the Queen's authority, insisted on strict obedience, and the *prophesyings* were suppressed throughout that diocese.

Among the earliest dissenters from the doctrines and rites of the Church of England before the Reformation there appear to have been some who denied the right of infants to Christian baptism, and consequently the necessity of baptism to infant salvation. Such were found among the Lollards and Wickliffites, and among the martyrs of the English Reformation.* Anabaptists.

During the reign of Henry VIII., and for a long time, the very name Anabaptist was itself a stigma. They were exempted from every act of grace. They were imprisoned, banished, burned to death. In Edward's reign they were disliked as foreigners, and also, because they were charged by their enemies with holding dangerous doctrines; but it is certain that the denial of infant baptism, apart from any other religious peculiarity, was visited with grievous punishment, as contrary to the religion established by law.

From the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, the Antipædobaptists were cruelly treated. Search after search was

* Fox's Acts and Monuments, b. i. c. 10. Broadmead Records.

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CHAP. IV.

made for them ; proclamation after proclamation was made against them. "Anabaptism," said Whitgift, "which usually followeth the preaching of the gospel, is greatly to be feared in this Church of England."*

Of a congregation of Flemish refugees, meeting without Aldersgate Bars, London, professing these principles, twenty-seven were imprisoned, four, bearing faggots at Paul's Cross, recanted, and obtained their release ; eight were banished ; two, John Wielmaker, or Jan Peters, and Hendrick Terwood were burned at Smithfield. It was in relation to these unhappy victims of Protestant and royal persecution, that Fox addressed his well-known letter to Queen Elizabeth, begging that "the piles and flames of Smithfield, so long ago extinguished by your happy government, may not be revived."

Archbishop Parker was succeeded by Archbishop Grindal in the see of Canterbury, in 1575. Sandys was translated to York, and Aylmer to London. In the following year a new commission came forth from the Queen. Among other ecclesiastical objects, the commissioners were empowered to *search out, correct, and punish such as wilfully absented themselves from the church and divine service.*

Popes of the
Puritans.

The Puritans had not yet abandoned all hope of inducing the rulers of the Church to carry on the Reformation according to their views.

While they continued to labour in the Church, they held meetings among themselves for this purpose. At one of these meetings, held by the associated ministers of Northamptonshire and Warwickshire, certain rules of discipline were adopted for their several parishes, agreeing with that of the church at Geneva. As soon, however, as they began to reduce their rules to practice, letters came to Archbishop Grindal from the Earl of Leicester, from Mr. Secretary Walsingham, by the Queen's special command, and from Lord Burghley, giving him the names of Mr. Page and Mr. Oxenbridge as the leaders in these matters. On the receipt of these letters, the Archbishop wrote to the Bishop of Peterborough, and to the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, in whose diocese these ministers lived, to see these

* Answer to the Admonition, p. 5 ; 1572.

things set right, and, if necessary, to seek the assistance of himself, or the ecclesiastical commissioners. In a few days after the first letter, he wrote again, probably in consequence of Lord Burghley's information, inquiring into the character of Page and Oxenbridge, and ordering them to be sent to him forthwith. As he apprehended that these ministers were supported by influential laymen in those counties, he seems not to have proceeded any farther in the business, but to have communicated his thoughts privately to Lord Burghley.*

During this year, Dr. Freke, who had succeeded Dr. Parkhurst as Bishop of Norwich, suspended several ministers in his diocese for Nonconformity.

MR. JOHN MORE, who had been fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, was a preacher at St. Andrew's Church, Norwich, "of great vogue," says Strype, "and very popular in that city about this time."† This man, upon a sermon Dr. Pern of Cambridge had preached in the Cathedral, took upon him the next Sunday to confute the doctrine he had preached—not so agreeable undoubtedly to some Puritan principles—and so intended to proceed in a further confutation thereof; but the Bishop (Parkhurst) being informed of this by one of the prebendaries, commanded him to desist.‡

Mr. John More undertakes to confute Dr. Pern.

In 1756, Mr. More, with five other Nonconforming clergymen at Norwich, addressed a humble supplication to the Lords of the Council, declaring that though they were ready to yield their all in the service of the Queen, they could not submit to the rigorous imposition of the ceremonies by their bishop, as they believed that his proceedings, if persevered in, would bring the most awful ruin upon the Church. Nineteen or twenty exercises of preaching or catechising had already been put down.§

Claim of relaxation of ceremonies

It appears from a letter signed by the same ministers in the same register, that they had been suspended from preaching, since they declare their readiness to subscribe to all those articles which concern the confession of the true Christian faith, and doctrine of the sacraments according to the statute, and they acknowledged that even the cere-

* Strype's Life of Grindal, b. iii. c. vii.

† 1573.

‡ Strype's Annals, vol. ii. book i. ch. 28.

§ Second parte of a Register MS. in Dr. Williams' Library. p. 256.

BOOK II. monies, order, and government, are so far tolerable that no
 CHAP. IV. man ought to forsake the ministry, or the hearing of the word
 and enjoyment of the sacraments, because of his objections
 to them.

Dr. Richard
Crick.

DR. RICHARD CRICK, another of these Norwich ministers, had been chaplain to the late bishop. Three years before, he had been commended to Sandys, Bishop of London, for learning and sobriety, and on that account he had been appointed by him to be one of the preachers at Paul's Cross. In his sermon there, he inveighed against the ecclesiastical polity established by law, and mentioned Cartwright's book as the true platform of the apostolical church, for which the Bishop of London and Archbishop Parker sent for him; but he was conveyed away. The ecclesiastical commissioners sent for him from Norwich, and deprived him of his lectureship in the Cathedral.*

Mr. Richard
Gawton, of
Norfolk.

MR. RICHARD GAWTON had been minister at Snoring, in Norfolk, but he had resigned that benefice because he was unable to pay fourteen pounds a-year out of his income to the former incumbent, who had lost his living through neglect, and without any fault of Gawton's. On leaving Snoring, Mr. Gawton became the curate of a church in Norwich. This year (1576) he was called before the Bishop for refusing to wear the surplice, departing from the rubric, confuting the Bishop's chaplain, and admonishing his parishioners to beware of false doctrine. After a long and lively examination by the Bishop, he was suspended, apparently for five years.†

Mr. R. Har-
vey of Nor-
wich.

MR. R. HARVEY, another minister of Norwich, was cited before Bishop Freke, for preaching against the episcopal government. The dean, who pronounced his sentence of suspension from the ministry, was complained of by Gawton, who witnessed the proceedings, as behaving himself not like a judge, but very intemperately, like a tyrant. Some days after, he addressed to the Bishop a letter, which the historian calls "a confident ruffling letter, and which," he says, "was so esteemed by that party, that it was put in print by them, with several other tracts of the like sort." We can find no trace of the publication; but there is a copy of the

* Strype's Parker, b. iv. c. 26-35.

† Strype's Annals, vol. ii. b. ii. c. 4. Parte of a Register, p. 390

letter in the "Parte of a Register," in Dr. Williams' Library.*

BOOK II.

CHAP. IV.

Mr. Lawrence
of Suffolk

MR. LAWRENCE, in Suffolk, the only preacher within a circuit of twenty miles, a man spoken of by persons of quality in the county as of great modesty, unblameable life, and sound doctrine, was restored to his ministry after his first suspension; but he was now again suspended by Bishop Freke, to the great grief of the most religious men in the county, and notwithstanding the earnest entreaties of Mr. Calthorp, an eminent Suffolk gentleman, and of Lord Burghley. The Bishop's answer to Mr. Calthorp's letter shows how much the personal hatred of the Queen towards the Puritans had to do with these persecutions. He says he "had not sequestered Mr. Lawrence from preaching by virtue of letters of the lords of her Majesty's privy council only, *but also by virtue of certain letters from her Majesty*, wherein he was strictly charged to suffer none but such only to preach as were allowed of into the ministry, and conformable in all manner of rites and ceremonies established in the Church of England, and therefore he *dared* not attempt to do it. He might not, upon every movement made, *transgress her Majesty's commandment*, although he bore as good-will to Mr. Lawrence as he or any man within the county."†

MR. JOHN HANDSON, of Bury St. Edmund's, was suspended from preaching by the same bishop, notwithstanding Sir Robert Jermyn, Lord North, and Lord Burghley had told the Bishop that they knew Mr. Handson's ministry to have been very profitable to a great number, that they who sought to remove him were rather adversaries than friends to the truth, that for matter of faith and manners, he was ever held a sound teacher; that in these indifferent things he never laboured much; and that in consideration of these things, they entreated the Bishop to let him exercise his ministry. The Bishop, however, resolutely answered, that unless Handson would publicly confess his fault, and come under a bond to follow another course, he would not set him free.‡ Strype adds, "These courses went on at Bury

Mr. John
Handson, of
Bury St. Edmunds.

* Extracts from the letter are printed by Strype, (Annals, vol. ii. b. ii. c. iv.) and the substance of it by Mr. Brook, (Lives of the Puritans, vol. i. p. 191.)

† Strype's Annals, vol. ii. b. ii. c. 24.

‡ Ibid. vol. iii. b. i. c. 2.

BOOK II.
CHAP. IV.

for some years, the ministers varying from, or altering, the Common Prayer at their discretion ; disliking the order of it, and depraving the book ; asserting the Queen's supremacy to be only in civil matters, not religious ; and some also holding certain heresies—as that Christ was not God, &c., and many young ministers of this sort were increasing in those parts, and all this in a great measure by the favour of some of the justices, till in the year 1583 they received a check by some severe proceedings at the assize at Bury, Sir Christopher Wray, Lord Chief Justice, being on the bench, when many were convicted, and some obstinately persisting, *put to death.*”

We have had occasion to report some of Archbishop Sandys' rigorous proceedings towards Dean Whittingham in the northern province. How severely he carried out the Queen's determination to crush all Nonconformists may be seen in one or two examples happily preserved from oblivion.

Mr. John
Wilson's ex-
amination.

MR. JOHN WILSON, who had been licensed by this Archbishop to preach at Skipton, was brought before his Grace and the other ecclesiastical commissioners of the province of York. His examinations, at three several times, at Bishopsthorpe, are on record. It is impossible to read them without marking the contrast between the haughtiness, impatience, and hardness displayed on one side, and the humility, conscientiousness, and meekness displayed on the other. The Archbishop called Wilson a man of a haughty and proud spirit, a fellow, an arrogant fool, an arrogant Puritan, a rebel, an enemy to her Majesty, an underminer of the state. When Mr. Wilson bound himself to preach no more in the Archbishop's province, he was released, only to pass through similar sufferings in the southern province.*

Mr Giles
Wigginton's
sufferings.

MR. GILES WIGGINTON, M.A., of Cambridge, and Vicar of Sedburgh, excited the disapprobation of Archbishop Sandys, as a young man of whom he would not accept as a preacher in his diocese ; and against whom he cautioned Dr. Chadderton, Bishop of Chester, as a dangerous Nonconformist. He was deprived of his living ; hunted from place to place ; loaded with irons ; nearly starved to death in

* MS. Register in Dr. Williams' Library.

prison; and charged, on ridiculously slender evidence, with sharing in a pretended conspiracy against the government.*

BOOK II.
CHAP. IV.

The diocese of London was not likely to afford much peace to Nonconformists under the rule of Bishop Aylmer.

MR. ROBERT WRIGHT, who had been tutor at Cambridge to the Earl of Leicester, had received Presbyterian ordination at Antwerp; and, on returning to England, he enjoyed the protection of Lord Rich, of Rochford in Essex, in whose chapel he officiated, preaching and administering the sacrament, though without the Bishop's license. Lord Rich's death exposed the chaplain to the attack of the Bishop, who committed him to the Gate-house prison on the frivolous charge of saying, "that to keep the Queen's birthday as a holiday was to make her an idol;" of which the Queen had heard with great anger, and for which slander the Bishop said he was worthy to be in prison seven years.† The keeper of the Gate-house, with the secret consent of the Secretary, allowed Mr. Wright to go home to see his wife, who was lying-in. While absent, Mr. Ford, a civilian, saw him go to the house of Mr. Butler, his wife's brother, and threatened the keeper that he would complain of him to the Queen; but Mr. Wright wrote to Lord Burghley, explaining the affair to him, and beseeching him "to stand good lord to the keeper, that he may not be discouraged from favouring those that profess true religion."

Mr. Robert Wright.

After a long imprisonment he professed his willingness to express in writing his acknowledgment of the ministry of the Church of England, and of the Book of Common Prayer. But the Bishop refused to accept his submission without the approbation of the Queen, and also a bond, in a large sum, from his friends, that he would never preach nor act contrary to this engagement.‡

MR. FRANCIS MERBURY, a minister at Northampton, was examined for Nonconformity by Bishop Aylmer and other commissioners, in the consistory of St. Paul's, London. This examination, preserved in the "Parte of a Register," so often quoted, displays the Bishop as a ridiculous quib-

Mr. Francis Merbury's examination.

* MS. Register. Conspiracy for Pretended Reformation, by R. Cosin. LL.D. published by authority, 1592.

† Strype's Annals, b. i. p. 123.

‡ Life of Aylmer, p. 87. Brook's Lives of the Puritans, vol. i. p. 289.

BOOK II. bler, and a rude brawler, calling his victim—a very ass,
 CHAP IV. mad, impudent, fool-hardy, scarce able to construe Cato,
 an idiot, a fool, a fellow who would have a preacher in
 every parish church, an overthwart, proud, Puritan knave.
 Mr. Merbury was sent to the Marshalsea, “to cope with
 Papists,” as the Bishop threatened. How long he re-
 mained in prison is doubtful; but he appears afterwards
 to have mitigated his opposition to the hierarchy.

Case of Mr.
 Robert Caw-
 dreys.

MR. ROBERT CAWDREY, minister of Luffenham, in Rut-
 landshire, refused to take the oath *ex officio*, before Bishop
 Aylmer and the other commissioners; but afterwards he
 submitted to a long inquisition, and gave answers in writing
 to ten charges brought against him. He was examined
 a second and a third time; and, on his refusal to engage
 to wear the surplice, he was committed to prison. After
 being suspended for three months he addressed a supplica-
 tion to Lord Burghley, that he might not, on such arbitrary
 grounds, be deprived of the living to which his Lordship
 had presented him, and in which he could procure sufficient
 testimony from the magistrates and ministers of the county,
 that he had behaved himself unblameably. While the
 Bishop was proceeding in his determination to deprive him,
 Lord Burghley, having examined the whole case, sent an
 express to the Bishop, to dismiss him without further
 trouble. As the Bishop, professing himself to be only one
 of the commissioners, still put off the final consideration
 of the business, Mr. Cawdreys wrote again to Lord Burghley,
 complaining that, notwithstanding his Lordship’s message
 and letters on his behalf, the Bishop still kept him from
 performing the duties which he owed to God and his people,
 to his wife and his children, and seemed as though he
 meant to wear him out. “Will it therefore please your
 good Lordship, even at this time, to use such means to
 procure my discharge, as to your godly wisdom shall appear
 most proper? To you, next under God, I fly for refuge in
 this case. I protest I am not obstinate in any one thing,
 as *He* knoweth whom I am most loathe to displease.”
 Unhappily for Mr. Cawdreys, Lord Burghley was at that
 time ill, so that he had no escape from the hands of the
 commissioners. His accusation being read, the Bishop
 asked him what he had to say against the sentence of

deprivation being pronounced upon him. "So far as my knowledge and counsel serve," he said, "I cannot see how you can deal so hardly with me, for if the rigour of the law should be extended against me for speaking against the book, the penalty, as set down in the statute, is only half-a-year's imprisonment, and the loss of my living to her Majesty for one whole year; and the same statute says, it must be wilfully and obstinately persisted in, which is not the case with me. Besides, the said trespass is already remitted by her Majesty's gracious pardon; therefore you have no just cause of deprivation."

"If you will abide," said the Bishop, "by such order as I and the other commissioners shall appoint, and will openly recant, in such places as we shall determine, those blasphemous speeches which you have uttered against that *holy book*, and use it in every point, then we will stay our proceedings."

Terms of submission rejected.

To this proposal Mr. Cawdrey replied, "*I would not do that for the world.*"

One of the commissioners, entreating him to submit, said, "We hear that you live honestly, are well thought of in your country, are a good housekeeper, and have a wife and many children; therefore take our good advice."

"Both my wife and children," answered Mr. Cawdrey, "shall go a-begging, rather than I will offend God and my own conscience. And, further, if you can charge me with any one instance of wickedness of life, or any false doctrine, during the time I have been in the ministry, or at any time before, let the sentence of the law be inflicted with the utmost severity." "False doctrine!" said the Bishop, "I will stand to it, that whosoever shall say the book is vile and filthy, which hath epistles and gospels, psalms, and holy prayers in it, I say flatly, he is a *heretic*, take the law upon me who will."

Having begged in vain for further time, Mr. Cawdrey said finally:—"If you can charge me with holding any point of doctrine which I cannot prove to be true, both by the word of God and the judgment of those learned writers whose works you—the high commissioners—have authorized to be printed and allowed in England, then let me have no favour at all."

BOOK II.

CHAP. IV.

Sentence of
deprivation.

The Bishop then pronounced against him the sentence of deprivation of the ministry in any part of the kingdom.

In addition to this deprivation he was degraded by the High Commission at Lambeth, for want of learning, as well as for Nonconformity.

In a letter to Lord Burghley, this injured minister of the gospel modestly vindicated himself from the charges brought against him. "As to my learning, though I have none to boast of, yet, seeing I have been employed in study, and have exercised myself in expounding the Scripture, and in preaching the word of God, almost twenty years, I hope God hath blessed me with some small measure of knowledge. I appeal to the people of my charge, and the good success of my ministry among them, which is a great comfort to my soul. I desire your Lordship to examine me upon some portion of Scripture, and I hope you will not find me so utterly void of learning, as to be wholly unfit to be exercised in the ministry. Indeed, I acknowledge that with respect to my important calling, and the ability that is requisite to a proper discharge of it, I am very unfit for the sacred function. Yet it affordeth me some comfort that God, in mercy, hath so far blessed my labours that I hope my people know, as well as most, how to 'render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things which are God's.' And as to the charge of not using the Book of Common Prayer, I have always used it, and do still purpose to use it. Only, I humbly request that I may not be more narrowly searched into, and more hardly dealt with, than many other ministers in England."

Interference
on his behalf.

Mr. Cawdrey declined to submit his cause to the further consideration of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London. He was persuaded that while these church-rulers countenanced ignorant and idle ministers, they were determined to push to the utmost extremity the law, against all ministers, however pious and laborious, who could not conscientiously conform. His cause was taken up by Lord Burghley, and, at his Lordship's suggestion, by Mr. James Morrice, a member of the House of Commons, attorney of the court of wards, in the duchy of Lancaster. For meddling with this matter, Mr. Mor-

rice was deprived of his office in the court of wards, and of his standing as a barrister, and he was imprisoned for some years in Tutbury Castle.*

The legality of the sentence of deprivation, in Mr. Cawdrey's case, was argued in the Court of Exchequer. The report of the arguments on both sides, and the decision of the judges in favour of the commissioners, was drawn up by Sir Edward Coke, then the Queen's solicitor-general, and is generally known by the name of "Cawdrey's Case."† This decision left Mr. Cawdrey and his family to starve.‡

While the most devoted of the clergy were thus harassed, one half of the churches in London were unfurnished with preachers; and, in the other half, not more than one in ten made conscience of waiting on his charge. In Northampton there was not one faithful preacher. Of 160 churches in Cornwall the greatest part were supplied by men guilty of the grossest immoralities, unfit to preach, pluralists, and non-residents.§

Character of
the conform-
ing clergy.

The proceedings of the government were still carried on in the spirit of the most rigid coercion. Letters were sent to all the dioceses, inquiring after persons absenting themselves from churches; and especially after school-masters thought to be secret hinderers of the religion established by law.

The nation at large can scarcely be supposed to have sympathized in the arbitrary measures of their rulers. The ministers who were banished from their pulpits were received as domestic chaplains and private tutors into the families of the nobility and gentry; thus they were protected against the fury of their oppressors; and, by the leisure and domestic influence they acquired, they had the opportunity of imbuing not a few of the rising spirits of the age with the hatred of tyranny, and the love, at once, of religious and political freedom.

The justices of the peace in Suffolk addressed a serious remonstrance to the Lords of the Council; the Bishop, weary of the opposition he met with in his diocese,

* Townshend's Account of the Four Last Parliaments of Elizabeth, p. 60. D'Ewe's Journal, p. 478.

† Heylin's Aeriis Redivivus. p. 517.

‡ MS. Register in Dr. Williams' Library. Strype's Life of Bishop Aylmer, pp. 129, 146.

§ MS. in Dr. Williams' Library.

BOOK II. prayed to be removed, and he was soon translated to
 CHAP. IV. Worcester.

SECTION III.—THE SEPARATISTS.

The Wands-
 worth Pres-
 bytery.

None of the Puritans had hitherto gone so far as to deny that the Church of England was a true Church of Christ, or that the civil magistrate had no authority in matters of religion. But as the harshness of the church-rulers increased, many of them were driven to separate from the established communion, and they privately set up a presbytery at Wandsworth, where Mr. Field was lecturer. This, which was the first Presbyterian church in England, was not kept so secret as to escape the vigilance of the government, though its members contrived to avoid detection, and similar presbyteries were erected in other places.

Book of Dis-
 cipline re-
 vised and
 subscribed.

A Book of Discipline had been drawn up by Mr. Travers, in Latin, which was revised, and printed at Cambridge, in English, with a commendatory epistle by Mr. Cartwright. It was subscribed by not fewer than five hundred ministers, who agreed to use all proper means for introducing it to the people. In this book it was proposed that candidates for ordination should be approved by a *classis*, or association of ministers; that the clergy should proceed in omitting parts of the liturgy, as far as they might without danger of deprivation; that they should subscribe to the articles relating to the sum of the Christian faith, and the sacraments; but not to the remaining articles, nor to the Book of Common Prayer; and that other changes should be observed, so far as was consistent with the law of the land, and the peace of the Church. This book was seized at the press, and the Archbishop ordered all the copies to be burned. One copy escaped, which was published in 1644, with this title:—"A Directory of Church Government, anciently contended for, and, as far as the time would suffer, Practised by the Nonconformists in the days of Queen Elizabeth: Found in the Study of the most accomplished divine, Mr. Thomas Cartwright, after his decease, and reserved to be published for such a time as this. Published by Authority." †

Seized at the
 press and
 burned.

* Strype's Annals, vol. iii. b. l. c. 16.

† This book is reprinted by Mr. Neal in the Appendix to vol. i. of his History of the Puritans.

Among the ministers who signed the Book of Discipline was the eminent sufferer JOHN UDAL.

BOOK II.

CHAP. IV.

John Udal.

Mr. Hume, speaking of the tyrannical statute of Elizabeth, making seditious words against the Queen a capital offence, says that "a use no less tyrannical, was sometimes made of it;" and he draws up from the State Trials, and from Strype, an account of Udal as one which "seems singular, even in those arbitrary times."*

The account given by Hume, though superficial, and far from being accurate, has made the case more generally known than many of the numerous cases of similar persecutions in this reign.

Mr. Udal, of the University of Cambridge, and a minister at Kingston, was an early sufferer for Nonconformity; but he had been restored to his ministry through the unsought influence of the Countess of Warwick, and other persons of high rank. After he signed the Book of Discipline, he was again driven from his flock; but he was sent by Lord Huntingdon, President of the North, to preach at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in the year when the Plague was raging, (1588.) After labouring there with great success, he was summoned before the Privy Council, and examined by the Commissioners as to the authorship of certain books. After long questioning and answering, the Lord Chief Justice Anderson, said to the Bishop of Rochester:—

His sufferings.

"My Lord of Rochester, I pray you let us make short work with him. Offer him a book. Will you swear to answer such things as shall be asked of you in the behalf of our Sovereign Lady the Queen?"

Mr. Udal declared his readiness to take the oath of allegiance; but he declined swearing to accuse himself or others. "Then they commanded me to go forth," Mr. Udal says, "and they consulted for a little space, and called me again, at which time almost every one of them used many words to persuade me to confess a truth, saying the Queen was merciful; and that, otherwise, it would go hardly with me. To whom I said, 'My Lords, I know not that I have offended her Majesty; when it is proved that I have, I hope her mercy will not then be too late: howsoever it be, I dare not take this oath.'"

* History of England, Appendix to the reign of Elizabeth, c. 44.

BOOK II.
CHAP. IVSent to the
Gate-house
prison.

As he persisted, after long debating, in his refusal to take the oath, the Bishop of Rochester said to him:—"Then you must go to prison, and it will go hard with you; for you must remain there until you be glad to take it." "God's will be done," answered Udal, "*I had rather go to prison with a good conscience, than to be at liberty with an ill one.*" "Your sentence," said the Bishop, "for this time is—to go to the Gate-house prison, and you are beholden to my lords there, that they have heard you so long."

"I acknowledge it," replied Udal, "and do humbly thank their honours for it." "When they were all gone my Lord Cobham stayed me, to speak to me, who told me that it might be he and others wished things to be amended as well as I, but the time served not; therefore, he wished not to stand in it. And,—I praying his Lordship's good favour,—he promised to do for me what he could; for which I humbly thanked him. And so, I was carried to the Gate-house prison by a messenger, who delivered me with a warrant, to be kept close prisoner, and not be suffered to have pen, ink, or paper, or any book, or anybody to speak with me. Then I remained there half a year, during which time my wife could not get leave to come to me, saving only that, in the hearing of my keeper, she might speak to me and I to her, of such things as he should think meet; notwithstanding that she made suit to the Commissioners, yea, to the body of the Council, for some more liberty; all which time my chamber-fellows were emissaries, traitors, and Papists. At the end of half a year, I was removed to the White-Lion Prison, at Southwark, and carried to the assizes at Croydon, where what was done I will not mention, seeing there were present such as were both able and I think willing to set down: unto whose report I refer those who would know the same."

Tried at
Croydon.

His indictment at Croydon before Baron Clarke, and Sergeant Puckering,—who afterwards succeeded Hatton as Lord Chancellor,—was for publishing a slanderous and infamous libel against the Queen's Majesty, and for changing some words of the Prayer Book.

Daulton, who acted as prosecutor, said he would prove that he had a malicious intent in making this book, that

he is the author of the book, and that the matter is felony by the Statute Elizabeth, 23, c. 2.

BOOK II.

CHAP. IV.

Mr. Udal begged to be heard by counsel, but one of the judges said, "You cannot have it."

Instead of bringing the prisoner and his accusers face to face, and hearing witnesses on the other side, the evidence consisted of the registered examinations of three men, of whom one, Tomkyn, a printer, was abroad; Chatfield, Vicar of Renyston, went out of the way to avoid appearing on the trial; and the third swore that he had been told by Mr. Penry that Udal was the author of the book." *

The argument for showing that the book,—which was not proved by legal evidence to be Udal's,—came within the law against felony, amounted to this; that as the bishops were the Queen's servants, to speak or write against them was to defame the Queen herself!

On such a miserable plea, this learned and blameless minister of the gospel was condemned—as a *felon*. His sentence was delayed, in the expectation that he would submit. A pardon was offered to him, if he would sign a paper, which was, in fact, an acknowledgement of the crimes which had not been proved against him, and of which he knew he was innocent. Instead of submitting to the falsehood and degradation of putting his hand to such a paper, to which the Dean of St. Paul's, and Dr. Andrews, vainly endeavoured to persuade him,—he addressed most earnest letters, breathing the humblest loyalty, and the dignity of a wronged spirit, to Sir Walter Raleigh, to Sergeant Puckering, and to the Queen herself.

Condemned
as a felon.

At the following assizes in Southwark, when he was asked at the bar the usual question, if he had any reasons to show why sentence should not be pronounced against him, according to the verdict, he delivered a paper to the judges. It is so important, so able, so impressive, that we envy not the man who can read it without sympathy with the confessor, and indignation against the spirit and the memory of his adversaries.

• These examinations appear to have been taken in connexion with an inquiry respecting the printing-press, and books of Martin Marprelate, of whom we shall have occasion to speak presently. The examinations are printed by Strype. (Annals, vol. iii. app. no. 68.) from the manuscripts of Sergeant Puckering, in the Harleian Collection.

BOOK II.
CHAP. IV.

Yet was it of no avail. In a letter from Judge Puckering to Lord Chancellor Hatton, a very cool and business-like account is given of the matter. Referring to the reasons above mentioned, the learned sergeant says:—"he spent an hour with us, debating to and fro; but no matter yielded unto for any submission, *such as we could like of*; albeit, in that public place we moved him thereunto. We therefore proceeded, and gave sentence against him, and commanded openly the execution of all that were adjudged—he being one." The judge concludes his letter thus:—"At the last, when we charged him that he had written, in his petition to her Majesty, that he did submit himself to such order as it should please her Highness to appoint, and now, by us, her Highness' justices of assize, to that manner of submission which we prescribed to him was thought meet to be required of him for her Highness, he answered, that those words, in his said petition, he meant only as to abide her order for life or death, as her Majesty should appoint, and not otherwise to yield to anything that might concern him in conscience, in that doctrine which he had taught,—as by the words before and after the sentence, he said it might be so understood. But (he) offered, in his last speech, that the submission which he had made to her Majesty, and any other submission that he had made, he would perform. Marry, he and we did differ—what was the manner of the submission he had made by words at Croydon assize.

"So as, my very good lord, we are not able to get of him such a submission as was prescribed for him to make, nor to like effect, we have proceeded as aforesaid, leaving him now at her Majesty's pleasure. This Sunday morning, the 21st of February, 1590."

The letter formerly mentioned, from the King of Scotland, (Elizabeth's successor, James I. of England,) to the English Queen, on behalf of Mr. Cartwright, made special mention of Mr. Udal.

When Mr. Udal heard the sentence of death pronounced upon him, he said, "God's will be done!"

Sentenced to
be executed.

Dr. Bancroft, at that time Lord Chancellor Hatton's chaplain, wrote a letter on the day on which this sentence was pronounced to Sergeant Puckering, saying:—

“My Lord’s (the Chancellor’s) advice is, that if Mr. Udal’s submission do not satisfy you, you should proceed to judgment; but that you should stay his execution, and forthwith this day write to Mr. Vice-Chamberlain of his obstinacy, desiring him to inform her Majesty of it, and to know her pleasure for the execution, whether it shall be further stayed, &c., and so, in haste I take my leave. At Ely House, this 20th February, 1590.

BOOK II.
CHAP. IV

“(The following enclosed in the same hand.)

“You must then command the execution. And, after, defer the same, until her Majesty’s pleasure be known.”

In his last extremity, as it seemed, Mr. Udal addressed Lord Burghley, begging that he might be allowed to accept the proposal of the company of Turkey merchants, to go out to one of their factories.

Strype says that Burghley promised to promote this scheme; that Archbishop Whitgift agreed to it; and that the Earl of Essex had prepared a draught of his pardon, on condition that he should not come back to England, without the Queen’s permission. The Queen never signed the pardon. The ships went out; and Udal was left to die in the Marshalsea prison, a victim to the anxiety of his mind, and the severity of his confinement.*

Mr. Hallam says:—“His trial, like most other political trials of the age, disgraces the name of English justice.”

Dies in prison.

There were some of the Puritans who went beyond the Presbyterians in their objections to the Established Church. They were known by the name of *Brownists*; their leader Robert Browne, a relative of Lord Burghley, was son of Anthony Browne, Esq., of Tolethorpe, Rutlandshire. He received his education at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, where he was much followed as a popular preacher. He afterwards became master of the free school, St. Olaves, Southwark, and also, chaplain to the Duke of Norfolk. Having lived among some Dutch emigrants, he retired with others of the same principles which he professed, to Middleburgh, in Holland, where they formed themselves into a

Brownists

* Lingard’s History of England, vol. xviii. c. vi. Dr. Lingard says that by degrees he recanted most of his opinions unfavourable to the establishment. This is not according to the evidence. The narrative as we have given it is drawn from Strype’s Annals, vol. iv.; Strype’s Life of Whitgift; the State Trials; the MS. in the Harleian Collection in British Museum; and the MS. Register in Dr. Williams’ Library.

BOOK II
CHAP. IV.

church, of which he was chosen pastor. He there published "A Book which sheweth the Life and Manners of all true Christians, and how unlike they are to Turks and Papists, and Heathen folke. Also, the Points and Parts of all Divinity, that is, of that revealed in the Will and Word of God, are here declared by their several definitions and distinctions, in order as followeth." The book was printed in parallel columns, containing a hundred and twenty-five questions and propositions, with a separate column of definitions. Some of the definitions contain similar views with those of Cartwright, and other divines of the same school.* He had not been long at Middleburgh, when dissensions arose in the church ; and Browne, with several of his followers retired to Scotland, where he was soon brought into trouble, from which he was rescued by the authority of the court. He followed his books to England. At first, he is represented as disseminating his principles among some Dutch Anabaptists at Norwich ; and then, with the aid of a schoolmaster, named Harrison, he is said to have formed separate churches, and to have scattered his pamphlets in most parts of the kingdom. For distributing these pamphlets, Mr. John Copping, a minister near Bury, St. Edmunds, and Mr. Elias Thacker, another minister of the same persuasion, and one Thomas Gibson, were kept in prison five years, and afterwards hanged at Bury : their books, as many as could be found, being burnt before their faces. The letter of Sir Christopher Wray, the judge who condemned these men, to Lord Burghley, says, "the book acknowledged her Majesty *civilly* ; but so was their terms, and no further. And, though Dr. Stil, (the Archbishop's chaplain,) and others travailed and conferred with them, yet they were, at that very time of their death, unmoveably of the same mind."

Two ministers and a layman imprisoned and hanged.

Browne's treatment and death.

Browne himself, the writer of the books, for distributing which, these three men were murdered under the forms of law, was brought before Bishop Freke, and other ecclesiastical commissioners, when he so behaved himself that he was committed to the custody of the Sheriff of Norwich. He

* This book was preceded or followed by another "Of Reformation without tarrying for any, and of the wickedness of those Preachers who will not reform themselves and their charges, because they will tarry till the Magistrate command and compel them."

was ordered by Lord Burghley to come to London, when Archbishop Whitgift "brought him," says Collier, "to a tolerable compliance with the Church of England."* He was then sent to his father in the country with instructions to use him gently. Here, however, he proved so incorrigible, that the old gentleman discharged him from his family. After much rambling about, he was cited by Lindsell, Bishop of Peterborough, to appear before him ; but, on his refusal, he was solemnly excommunicated. He then humbled himself before the Bishop ; sued for pardon ; was restored ; took the charge of a church near Oundle, Northamptonshire ; and he died in Northampton gaol, to which he had been committed for an assault upon a constable.†

MR. FRANCIS JOHNSON, who had suffered severely, together with Mr. Cuthbert Bainbridge, at Cambridge, was the pastor of a church adopting the principles of the Brownists, which met in different places, sometimes in fields, sometimes in private houses, and sometimes in the dead of night, for fear of the bishop's officers. They were discovered at Islington, in the same place in which the congregation of Protestants formerly mentioned had met during the reign of Mary. Fifty-six of their number were apprehended, and dispersed among different prisons in and about London. Mr. Johnson, their pastor, and Mr. John Greenwood, their teacher, being at the house of Mr. Boys, an honest citizen on Ludgate Hill, the pursuivants of the High Commission ransacked the chests of the house ; apprehended the ministers without warrant ; and, after midnight, led them, with bills and staves, to the Compter in

BOOK II
CHAP. IV

Mr. Francis Johnson and the Brownists of London.

* Ecc. History, vol. ii. p. 582.

† Strype's Annals, vol. ii. Collier's Ecc. History, part ii. b. vii. Ephraim Pagitt's Heresiography, or a Description of the Heresies, &c. which have sprung up in these later times

Shakespeare, who marks all the characteristics of his age with the impress of his own wonderful genius, shows how deep the hatred of Puritans, and especially of *Brownists* was, among the loyal gentry of Elizabeth. Sir Andrew Ague-cheek, speaking of Malvolio, says to Sir Toby Belch, "Tell us something of him.

Maria. Marry, sir, sometimes he is a kind of *Puritan*.

Sir Andrew. Oh ! if I thought that, I'd beat him like a dog.

Sir Toby. What, for being a Puritan ? Thy exquisite reason, dear Knight ?

Sir Andrew. I have no *exquisite* reason for it ; but I have reason good enough."—*Twelfth Night, Act II. Scene IV.*

In another part of the same piece, some plan is recommended to this zealous Anti-Puritan to recover the good opinion of a lady, to which he replies : "An't be any way, it must be with valour, for policy I hate ; I had as lief be a *Brownist* as a politician. —*Act III. Scene II.*

BOOK II. Wood Street, taking assurance of the owner of the house to
 CHAP. IV. remain at home till sent for the following day, when the
 Archbishop and his colleagues committed two of them to
 the Clink prison, and the third to the Fleet, where they re-
 mained in great distress. In the supplication to the Privy
 Council, the prisoners, after showing their reasons for break-
 ing off communion with the Church Established, complain
 that the dealing of their adversaries with them is, and has of
 long time been, most injurious, outrageous, and unlawful,—
 persecuting, imprisoning, detaining at their pleasure “our
 poor bodies,” without any trial, release, or bail permitted;
 yet, and hitherto, without any cause, either for error, or
 cause directly objected. They instance Henry Barrow,
 and John Greenwood, with two others, five years in close
 prison, with miserable usage in the Fleet; others, in New-
 gate, laden with as many irons as they could bear; aged
 widows, aged men young maidens and others, had perished;
 some had been grievously beaten with cudgels at Bridewell,
 for refusing to come to their chapel service, in which prison
 they ended their lives; while “upon none of us, thus com-
 mitted by them, dying in their prison, is any inquest suf-
 fered to pass, as by law in like case is provided.” They
 complain of their houses being broken into at all hours of
 the night, and rifled, under pretence of searching for sedi-
 tious books; men plucked out of bed in the deep of the
 night, and unjustly haled to prison. They pray, in the
 name of God and of the Queen, for the present safety of
 their lives, and for the benefit of law, and of the public
 charter of the land; and they take the Lord of heaven and
 earth to witness, and his angels, and the consciences of their
 lordships, and all persons in all ages,—that they have here
 truly set forth their case and usages, and have, in all hu-
 mility offered their cause to Christian trial.*

Mr. Johnson was often examined by the Protestant In-
 quisition, on which occasions, though he refused the oath
ex officio, he confessed the leading particulars of his life,
 principles, and labours. Strype has published a letter from
 Mr. Johnson to Lord Burghley, in which, repudiating the
 term *Brownist*, he states that one of their preachers, who

* Strype's Annals, vol. iv. No. 62. Baker's MS. Harleian Library, Brit.
 Mus. vol. xv. p. 33.

had been eleven months in prison, told the commissioner that he marvelled that they should deal with men by imprisonment, and other rigorous measures, in matters of religion and conscience, rather than by more Christian and fit proceedings: protesting that he should but dissemble with them and play the hypocrite, if he should, to please them, or to avoid trouble, submit to go to church, and to join with the public ministry of those assemblies as it now standeth, he being persuaded in his conscience that it was utterly unlawful. In reply to this the commissioner said to him, "Come to the church, and obey the Queen's laws, and be a dissembler, be a hypocrite, or a devil if thou wilt."*

When Mr Johnson was brought to trial for the alleged crime of writing against the church, and the oppression of the bishops, *before the statute under which he was tried was made*, he was condemned to perpetual banishment. He sought a home at Amsterdam, as pastor of the church which had the eminently learned Ainsworth for its teacher.

MR. JOHN GREENWOOD has been mentioned in connection with Mr. Johnson as teacher in the same church. He had been Lord Rich's chaplain. When he renounced his Episcopal orders, and adopted the principles of the Brownists, he became intimately acquainted with Henry Barrow, Esq., son of a Norfolk gentleman, who had been his fellow-collegian at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, who, after leaving Cambridge, had become a member of the Society of Gray's Inn, and occasionally appeared at Court. They were both put in prison for promoting schismatical and seditious opinions. When they appeared before the High Commission, they were most inquisitorially examined, and committed again to prison. During their imprisonment, they kept up an active controversy with enemies who traduced their opinions and characters.

Mr. John
Greenwood.

These gentlemen were indicted at the Old Bailey along with another gentleman of the name of Bellot, Daniel Studley, a girdler, and a deacon of a church, and Robert Bowle, fishmonger, for "writing and publishing sundry seditious books and pamphlets, tending to the slander of the Queen and government." They protested that they were loyal to the Queen, and obedient to the government, and that they

Trial and sufferings of
Greenwood
and others.

* Strype's Annals, vol. iv. App. No. 91, 92.

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CHAP IV.

never had written, nor intended to write, anything against her Highness, but only against the bishops and the established church. Notwithstanding this protestation, and their manifest innocence of the crime imputed to them, the jury returned a verdict of *guilty*. Bellot, who sorrowfully confessed what he had done, and Studley and Bowle, being regarded as but secondary offenders, were sent back to prison. Bellot and Bowle died in prison some four years after ; Studley was ultimately banished. Mr. Barrow and Mr. Greenwood were *sentenced to death*. They remained firm, after being exposed to the crowd under the gallows ; but they were reprieved. A second time they were thus exposed ; and then hanged. They were attended at their execution by Dr. Reynolds, and by the Earl of Cumberland. The doctor told her Majesty that he was persuaded if they had lived they would have been two as worthy instruments for the church of God as any that had been raised up in that age. The Earl, when asked by the Queen what end these men had made, replied, "A very godly end, and prayed for your Majesty, State, &c."*

John Penry.

The next victim of this relentless persecution, to whom the hand of English history will never cease to point, is JOHN PENRY, or Ap Henry, (son of Henry.) He was, according to his own account, born in the mountains of Wales. In 1578, he became a subsizar of Peter House, Cambridge. Having taken a degree in Arts, he removed to St. Alban's Hall, Oxford, where he became Master of Arts in 1586. About this time he took orders, preached both at Oxford and at Cambridge, and was esteemed by many a tolerable scholar, an edifying preacher, and a good man.†

After leaving Oxford, he appears to have lived, partly at Northampton, and partly in London, where he was member of the same church as Johnson, Greenwood, and Barrow. In a few years he was examined by Archbishop Whitgift, Cooper, Bishop of Winchester, and other High Commissioners. on a charge of publishing the opinion that

* The examination of H. Barrowe, John Greenwood, and John Penry, before the High Commissioners and Lords of the Council, with their answers.—Apology or defence of such true Christians as are commonly, but unjustly called Brownists. By Henry Ainsworth, 1604.—Strype's Life of Whitgift.—Strype's Annals, vol. iv.—Neale's History of the Puritans, vol. i. c. 8.—Brook's Lives of the Puritans, vol. ii. pp. 23, 44.—Hanbury's Historical Memorials, vol. i. c. 3.

† Wood's Athenæ Oxon., vol. I. No. 395.

mere readers of homilies were not preachers. For this "execrable heresy," he was committed to prison, where he remained about a month.

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After his release he went into Scotland, where he pursued his studies for several years. On his return to England, where a warrant had been issued for his apprehension as an enemy to the state, he was informed against by the Vicar of Stepney, apprehended in that parish, and tried at the King's Bench, before Lord Chief Justice Popham, and the rest of the judges. He was convicted of felony under the statute against uttering seditious words and rumours against the Queen, &c. Before his public trial, he had undergone seven private examinations, and it had been intended that he should be indicted on the contents of some books which had been published in his name ; but when he had drawn up a paper, proving that he could not be legally convicted on such an indictment, he was convicted on the contents of some *private papers* which were found in his possession. These papers consisted of observations on the state of the church, and the draft of an address to the Queen, in which he intended to place before her Majesty the religious state of the country, and to petition that he might have her royal authority to go and preach the gospel in his native principality. On this evidence he was condemned to die.

Arrest and
condemnation.

His letter to Lord Burghley, and a writing enclosed in it for the satisfaction of her Majesty, are printed by Strype. They are noble and touching compositions, written by a man who had no hope for this world, and who was sustained by the consciousness of innocence and the prospect of heaven.

"I am a poor young man," he says, "born and bred in the mountains of Wales. I am the first since the last springing of the gospel in this latter age, that publicly laboured to have the blessed seed thereof sown in those barren mountains. I have often rejoiced before my God, as He knoweth, that I had the favour to be born and live under her Majesty for the promoting of this work. . . .

His appeal to
the Queen.

". . . Far be it that either the saving of an earthly life—the regard which I in nature ought to have to the desolate outward state of a poor friendless widow, and four

BOOK II.
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fatherless infants, whereof the eldest is not above four years old, which I am to leave behind me—or any other outward thing, should enforce me by denial of God's truth contrary to my conscience, to leese [loose or betray] my own soul ; the Lord, I trust, will never give me over to this sin. Great things in this life I never sought for, not so much as in thought ; a mean and base outward state, according to my mean condition I was content with. Sufficiency I have had with great outward troubles, but most contented was I with my lot, and content I am ; and shall be with my undeserved and untimely death : beseeching the Lord that it be not laid to the charge of any creature in this land. For I do, from my heart, forgive all those that seek my life, as I desire to be forgiven in the day of strict account, praying for them as for my own soul, that although upon earth we cannot accord, we may yet meet in heaven, unto our eternal comfort and unity, where all controversies shall be at an end. And if my death can procure any quietness unto the church of God, and the state of my prince and kingdom, glad am I that I have a life to bestow in this service. I know not to what better use it could be employed if it were preserved ; and therefore in this cause I desire not to spare it.

“Thus have I lived towards the Lord and my prince ; and by the grace of God, I mean thus to die.

“Many such subjects I wish unto my prince, though no such reward to any of them. My earnest request is, that her Majesty may be acquainted with these things before my death, or, at least, after my departure.

“Subscribed with the heart, and with the hand that never devised or wrote anything to the discredit or defamation of my sovereign Queen Elizabeth.

“I take it on my death, as I hope to have a life after this, by me,

JOHN PENRY.”*

While thus calmly asserting his innocence in the face of the world, he addressed a letter “to the distressed and faithful congregation of Christ in London, and all the members thereof,” affirming his unmoved persuasion of the truth of the principles for which he suffered, encouraging them to

Address to
his adher-
ents.

steadfastness, and exhorting them to pray for him and other sufferers, and to go as a body, to some other land ; and here he says, " I humbly beseech you, not in any outward regard as I shall answer before my God, that you would take my poor and desolate widow, and my mess of fatherless and friendless orphans, with you into exile, whithersoever you go, and you shall find, I doubt not, that the blessed promises of my God, made unto me and mine, will accompany them, and even the whole church for their sakes, for this also is the Lord's promise unto the holy seed."*

In the preface to a book of Penry's, published after his death, it is stated that he was not brought to execution immediately, as most persons had expected, but, when they least looked for it, he was taken while he was at dinner, and carried secretly to his execution, and hastily bereaved of his life, without being suffered to make a declaration of his faith towards God, or of his allegiance to the Queen, though he very much desired it.

His execution.

The death of Penry, and the sufferings of his companions, were inflicted chiefly in consequence of the publication of numerous pamphlets against the bishops, several of which were signed with the assumed name of *Martin Marprelate*.

Dr. Bridges, Dean of Salisbury, and afterwards Bishop of Oxford, had published a defence of the government of the Church of England, in answer to the objections of the Puritans, to which a reply was given in a defence of the godly ministers against the slanders of Dr. Bridges. Bridges replied ; and the Puritans published a rejoinder.

Dr. Some, master of Peter House, Cambridge, also published a discourse against Penry, which was answered in a pamphlet called " Mr. Some Laid Open in his Colours."

A club of Puritans then published the *Martin Marprelate* pamphlets. These were printed by Waldegrave, who had a travelling press, which had been traced to Moulsey, near Kingston, Fausely, in Northamptonshire, Norton, Coventry, Woolston, in Warwickshire, and was finally seized at Newton lane, Manchester, in the course of printing " Hay

Marprelate pamphlets

* The Examination of Henry Barrow, John Greenwood, and John Penry —Dr. Williams' Library. Mr. Petheram of Holborn has proposed to reprint this scarce work in his series of Puritan Discipline Tracts.

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CHAP. IV.

any worke for Cooper," which was an answer to "An Admonition to the people of England," by Dr. Thomas Cooper, Bishop of Winchester, published in 1589, by Barker, the Queen's printer, and with the command of Archbishop Whitgift.

These pamphlets are mentioned in most of the histories, and Mr. Penry is generally identified with Martin Marprelate, though the writer of "Hay any work for Cooper," now before me, makes the following declaration: "I know I am disliked of many which are your enemies, that is, of many which you call Puritans. It is their weakness. I am threatened to be hanged by you. What though I were hanged, do you think your cause shall be the better? For the day that you hang Martin, assure yourselves there will twenty Martins spring in any place. . . . Assure yourselves I will prove Marprelate ere I have done with you. I am alone. No man under heaven is privy, or hath been privy to my writings against you. I used the advice of none therein. You have, and do suspect divers, as Master Paget, Master Wigginston, Master Udal, and Master Penri, &c. to make Martin. If they cannot clear themselves, their silliness is pitiful, and they are worthy to bear Martin's punishment."*

Dr. Bancroft's defence of non-conformity.

In the midst of these controversies, Dr. Bancroft, afterwards Bishop of London, and Archbishop of Canterbury, preached "a very learned and significant" sermon at St. Paul's Cross, on the text 1 John iv. 1, "Believe not every spirit," &c. In this sermon the Doctor painted the Puritans in glowing colours, charging them with scurrility, ambition, and covetousness. He maintained that there was no trace of the discipline for which the Puritans contended from the time of the apostles down to Calvin. He represented the danger that must follow if private men should contest and overrule the constitution of the church which had been settled by authority. He justified the rigour of submission to articles by precedents in the church at Geneva, and some of the reformed churches in Germany. He insisted on the excellency of the Common Prayer Book, and on the indecency, absurdity, and irreverence of extemporary

* "I am the sole depositary of my own secret, and it shall perish with me."
—Junius, Dedication.

worship. In opposition to the Puritans, he maintained the divine right of bishops, as a distinct order, to superintend the affairs of the church. Dr. Bancroft also published two works against the Puritans,—“Survey of the Pretended Holy Discipline,” and “Dangerous Positions and Proceedings,” for the purpose of showing that, like the Papists, they denied the prerogative of the civil magistrate in ecclesiastical matters. On this latter subject Collier, the historian of the church, enters into a long disquisition to prove that this objection has little weight, for the agreement between the Papists and the Puritans in any point of religion, does not prove the theory either true or false. On the former subject, the divine right of the bishops, Sir Francis Knollys, one of the Privy Council, seriously addressed Lord Burghley, enclosing to him a paper against this doctrine; and expressing his jealousy for the honour and supremacy of the Queen. But her Majesty was too resolutely bent on putting down all opposition to her will in religion, to interfere with the proceedings or the claims of the bishops, who were so entirely subservient to that will.

Before we leave these scenes of strife, let us turn aside to read an inscription on the coffin of Roger Rippon, a Barrowist, who died in Newgate, 1592. Strype has inserted it in his *Annals* vol. iv., no. 90.

Roger Rippon. the Barrowist.

“This is the corpse of Roger Rippon, a servant of Christ, and her Majesty’s faithful subject, who is the last of sixteen or seventeen which that great enemy of God, the Archbishop of Canterbury, with his High Commissioners, have murdered in Newgate within these five years, manifestly for the testimony of Jesus Christ. His soul is now with the Lord, and his blood crieth for speedy vengeance against that great enemy of the saints, and against Mr. Richard Young, (a justice of the peace in London,) who in this, and many the like points, hath abused his power for the withholding of the Romish antichrist, prelacy, and priesthood.”

“Many copies of this libel were taken and showed about.”

The closing years of Elizabeth’s reign, though not farther stained with blood, witnessed the banishment or voluntary exile of many of her best subjects, who sought upon the shores of Holland the liberty of conscience which was denied to them in their own land.

SECTION IV.—PURITANS IN PARLIAMENT.

BOOK II.

CHAP. IV

It does not come within our plan to enter largely into the general history of England during the time of the Puritans. Yet we must give a succinct view of the parliamentary history of the reign of Elizabeth, so far as the Puritans were concerned. We gather the following particulars from the Journal of the House of Commons, published by Sir Simondi d'Ewes.

Mr. Strickland proposes to reform the Prayer Book.

In 1571, Mr. Strickland, a grave and ancient man, of great zeal, stood up and made a long discourse, tending to the remembrance of God's goodness in giving unto us the light of his word, together with the gracious disposition of her Majesty, by whom, as by his instrument, God had wrought so great things, and blaming our slackness and carelessness in not esteeming and following our privileges. He then spoke, temperately, on the abuses of the church, and brought in a bill for the reformation of the Common Prayer, which was read a first time, but never carried.

Proceedings in the House of Commons.

Another bill was brought in, to take away the licenses and dispensations granted by the Archbishop of Canterbury, which was stopped by the interference of her Majesty, who sent a message to the Commons, commanding them not to interfere with the Christian religion.

In the year 1575, Mr. Peter Wentworth delivered a long speech in the House of Commons, in the course of which he said: "I have heard, from old Parliament men, that the banishment of the Pope and Popery, and the restoring of true religion had their beginning from the house, and not from the bishops, and I have heard that few laws for religion had their foundation from them, and I do surely think (before God I speak it) that the bishops were the cause of that doleful message. And I will show you what moveth me so to think. I was, amongst others, the last parliament, sent to the Bishop of Canterbury for the articles of religion that then passed this house. He asked us, why we did put out of the book the articles for the Homilies, consecrating of bishops, and such like. Surely sir, said I, because we were so occupied with other matters, that we

had no time to examine them how they agreed with the word of God. 'What,' said he, 'surely you mistook the matter. You will refer yourselves wholly to us therein.' 'No! by the faith I bear to God,' said I, 'we will pass nothing before we understand what it is; for that were to make you popes. Make you popes who list; for we will make you none.' And sure, Mr. Speaker, the speech seemed to me a pope-like speech, and I fear lest our bishops do attribute this of the Pope's canons to themselves—the *Pope cannot err*; for surely, if they didn't, they would reform things amiss, and not spurn against God's people for writing therein, as they do. But I can tell them news. They do but kick against the pricks. For, undoubtedly, they both have and do err, and God will reveal his truth, maugre the hearts of them and all his enemies; for great is the truth, and it will prevail. And to say the truth, it is an error to think that God's spirit is tied only to them; for the heavenly spirit saith, 'first seek the kingdom of God, and the righteousness thereof, and all these things [meaning temporal] shall be given to you.'

"These words were not spoken to the bishops only, but to all, and the commission, Mr Speaker, that we are called by, is chiefly to deal in God's cause; so that our commission, both from God and our prince, is to deal in God's causes. Therefore the accepting of such messages, and the taking them in good part, do highly offend God, and is the acceptance of the breach of the liberties of this honourable council. For is it not all one thing to say, Sirs, you shall deal in such matters only, as to say, You shall not deal in such matters; and so, as good to have fools and flatterers in the house as men of wisdom, grave judgment, faithful hearts, and sincere consciences; for they being taught what they shall do, can give their consent as well as others."

Before he had fully finished his speech, the house, out of a reverent regard of her Majesty's honour, stopped his farther proceeding. He was committed to the sergeant's ward as a prisoner, and examined by committees of the House of Commons the same day. From a long examination he came off with honour; for, after being confined for a month, he was restored "by the Queen's special grace and favour" to his seat.

Mr. P. Wentworth silenced.

BOOK II.

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A bill for the reformation of the church was changed into a petition to the Queen that she would carry it out, to which the royal answer was, "that her Majesty would order the Bishops to amend what was wrong, and that if they neglected the order, she would satisfy the nation by virtue of her authority as the head of the church."

Proposed restrictions on the bishops.

During the parliament which was opened in 1584, the House of Commons submitted sixteen articles to the consideration of the House of Lords; among the principal of which were:—that no bishop should ordain a minister without the concurrence of six presbyters; that no minister should be appointed to a parish without previous opportunity being given to the parishioners to inquire whether his doctrine was sound, and his life unblameable; that the bishops should not rigidly enforce the ceremonies of the church, nor deprive ministers for omitting parts of the service; that their lordships would devise some method for correcting abuses in the spiritual courts, and that they would take into consideration the grievances of the High Commission, especially the oath *ex officio*.

To these requests of the House of Commons, answers were given by Archbishop Whitgift, Archbishop Sandys, and the Bishop of Winchester, in which, while some suggestions were approved, others, and those the most important, were rejected.

Queen Elizabeth's speech

Her Majesty's speech on the dissolution of parliament put a stop to any progress for reformation in the House of Commons, or indeed in the parliament. Her Majesty's language on this occasion deserves to be recorded, as showing the spirit of her government in relation to religion:—"No prince, herein, I confess, can be surer tied, or faster bound than I am with the links of your good-will, and can for that but yield a heart and a head, to seek for ever all your best; yet in a matter which toucheth me so near as I may not overskip—religion, the ground on which all other matters ought to take root, and being corrupted, may mar all the tree. And that there be some fault-finders with the order of the clergy, which so make a slander to myself and the church, whose overruler God hath made me, whose negligence cannot be excused, if any schism, or errors heretical were suffered. Thus much I must say, that some

faults and negligences may grow, and be as in all other great charges it happeneth ; and what vocation without ? *All which, if you, my lords of the clergy, do not amend, I mean to depose you.* Look ye well, therefore, to your charges. This may be amended without heedless or open exclamations.

“ I am supposed to have many studies, but most, philosophical : I must yield this to be true, that I suppose there be few (that be no Professors) have read more. And I need not tell you that I am not so simple that I understand not, or so forgetful that I remember not ; and yet, amidst my many volumes, I hope God’s book hath not been among my seldomest lectures (readings ;) in which we find that which in reason (for my part) we ought to believe ; and, seeing so great wickedness and grieves in the world, in which we live but as wayfaring pilgrims, we must suppose that God would never have made us but for a better place, and of more comfort than we find here. I know no creature that breatheth whose life standeth in more peril for it than mine own, who entered not into my state without sight of the manifold dangers of life and crown, as one that had the mightiest and greatest to wrestle with. Then it followeth, that I regarded it so much as I left my life behind.

“ And so you see that you wrong me too much, if such there be as doubt my coldness in that behalf ; for if I were not persuaded that mine were the true ways of God’s will, God forbid that I should live to prescribe it to you.

“ Take you heed lest Ecclesiastes say too true : ‘ they that fear the hoary frost, the snow shall fall upon them.’ I see many over bold with God Almighty, making too many subtle scannings of his blessed will, as lawyers do with human testament. The presumption is so great that I will not suffer it, (yet mind I not hereby to animate Romanists, which, what adversaries they be to mine estate is sufficiently known) nor tolerate new-fangledness. I mean to guide them both by God’s holy true rule. In both parts be perils, and of the latter I must pronounce them dangerous to a kingly rule, to have every man according to his own censure, to make a doom of the validity and purity of his prince’s government, with a common veil and cover of God’s word, whose followers must not be judged but by private

BOOK II. men's exposition. God defend you from such a ruler that
CHAP. IV. so evil will guide you."

Submissive
proceedings
of the Com-
mons.

In 1586, Mr. Dampport offered to the house some considerations for due course of proceeding in laws already established, but executed, he said, by some ecclesiastical governor contrary to the purport of the laws and the mind of the law-makers, and to the great hurts and grievances of sundry of her Majesty's good subjects. Having made his motion, he offered some particulars in writing, which he prayed might be read, and committed to be further considered of, and dealt in, as this house should think good. But when Mr. Secretary Wolley reminded the house of her Majesty's prohibition against their dealing with ecclesiastical causes, and showed that by so dealing they would incur the charge of contempt to her Highness, Mr. Dampport's paper was received, but not read, and after some time it was returned to him by the Speaker. *

Suppression
of all debate
on religion.

On Tuesday, 27th February, 1592, Mr. Morrice, attorney of the Court of Wards, offered two bills to the House of Commons, of which one was against the subscriptions.

Mr. Dalton, Sir John Woolleys, Dr. Lewin, Mr. Henry Finch, and Sir Robert Cecil, spoke against the bill; Sir Francis Knollys, and Mr. Oliver St. John, in favour of it. The Speaker obtained leave to examine the bill privately before he gave an opinion. In the afternoon of the same day the Speaker was sent for by the Queen, who commanded him to tell the house that it was not meant, by calling them together, that they should meddle with matters of state, or causes ecclesiastical, and that her Majesty wondered that any should be of so high commandment to attempt a thing so expressly contrary to that which she had forbidden. Wherefore with this she was highly offended. Her Majesty's present charge and express commandment is—that "no bill touching the said matters of state, or reformation in causes ecclesiastical, be exhibited;" "and upon my allegiance," added the Speaker, "if any such bill be exhibited, not to read it."†

In 1597, we find this note in the journal of the House of Commons:—"Although her Majesty had, formerly, been

• D'Ewe's Journal p. 433.

† Ibid, pp. 474-475.

exceedingly unwilling and opposite to all manner of innovations in ecclesiastical government, yet, understanding at this parliament of divers gross and great abuses therein, she had, (on Monday, November 14th,) not only given leave and liberty to the House of Commons to treat thereof, but also had encouraged them to proceed in the Reformation thereof, by a message brought into the said House by Sir John Fortescue, Chancellor of the Exchequer." *

In this brief review we may observe how entirely the Commons, the Parliament, and the Church of England were enslaved by the determined resolution of the sovereign. Though there was a manifest desire for prosecuting further reforms in the church, and that desire was expressed in every form of humble supplication,—in parliamentary discussion,—in the pulpit,—by the press,—in prison,—exile,—and death, the single will of the Queen of England suppressed it.

SECTION V.—THE BISHOPS AND PURITANS.

So many great episcopal names have come before us in the history of this reign, that it may be well to offer a slight portraiture of some of the most distinguished.

Archbishop
Parker.

ARCHBISHOP PARKER was the first Archbishop of Canterbury in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, under whose primacy and influence the reformation of religion was effected, and the Church of England restored, and established upon the principles whereon it stands to this day.†

His deliberation and prudence,—his learning, moderation, and piety,—his thorough knowledge of ecclesiastical affairs in general, and particularly his understanding of the state of the Church of England from the beginning of the Reformation, are said to have secured for him the confidence of Elizabeth's great statesmen—Bacon and Cecil. He bore through life a high character as a man of exemplary learning, temperance, hospitality, munificence, and piety. Though naturally bashful, he was rough in his manners, and fearless in his spirit. By all parties he has been regarded as the

* D'Ewe's Journal. p. 557.

† Strype's Life and Acts of Matthew Parker.

BOOK II. vigorous defender of what he believed to be the interests
 CHAP. IV. of the church, and "true to the cause of the hierarchy."*

Different
 opinions con-
 cerning him.

Strype lauds him to the heavens. Collier speaks of his private life as "unexceptionable and exemplary."† Fuller, in his *Abel Redivivus*, says, "He forebore not frequently to preach, (as his other important and more public affairs permitted,) sometimes in his own cathedral church, and at other times in the towns and villages abroad, continuing constant in that painful practice amidst much weakness and craziness, the attendants of old age."‡

The same writer praises him for his care and study in amending the translation of the Bible, and dispersing it abroad throughout the whole realm." He also says, in his *Church History*,§ "the death of Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, May 17, 1575, added much to their increase (Nonconformists.) He was a *Parker* indeed, —careful to keep the fences, and shut the gates of discipline against all such as would invade the same. No wonder, then, if the tongues and pens of many were whetted against him, whose complaints are beheld by discreet men like the exclamations of truantly scholars against their master's severity, correcting them for their faults."

Mr. Neal describes him as "a severe churchman ; of a rough and uncourtly temper, and of high and arbitrary principles both in church and state ; a slave to the prerogative and the supremacy ; and a bitter enemy to the Puritans, whom he persecuted to the length of his power, and beyond the limits of the law. His religion consisted in a servile obedience to the Queen's injunctions, and in regulating the public service of the church : but his Grace had too little regard for public virtue, his entertainments and feastings being chiefly on the Lord's day, nor do we read among his episcopal qualities of his diligent preaching or pious example."||

Hume speaks of him as "rigid in exacting conformity to the established worship, and in punishing, by fine or deprivation, all the puritanical clergymen who attempted to innovate anything on the habits, ceremonies, or liturgy of the church."

* Lingard's *History of England*, vol. viii. p. 134.

† *Ecc. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 549. ‡ P. 532.

§ *B.* ix. p. 17.

|| *Hist. of Puritans*, vol. I. c. v.

In contradiction to Mr. Neal, Mr. Erasmus Middleton says:—"among his *other episcopal qualities*, he was a frequent preacher, and that the Puritans have severely treated him." *

BOOK II.
CHAP. IV.

Mr. Hallam refers to his "severity," and his haughty spirit, and says, "on the review of his whole behaviour he must be reckoned the most severe disciplinarian of Elizabeth's first hierarchy, though more violent men came afterwards. In the copious memorials of Strype we find the Archbishop rather exciting the Queen to rigorous measures against the Puritans, than standing in need of her admonition."†

ARCHBISHOP GRINDAL differed greatly from his predecessor. While Parker remained in England, during the whole of Mary's reign, Grindal was one of the exiles at Strasburgh; and we have seen the share he took in the controversies at Frankfort. He was the intimate friend of Lever, Sampson, Coverdale, Fox, and other leaders of the Puritans in the Church of England; and it is maintained that, before his elevation to the episcopal office, all the leanings of his mind were in the same direction. Even after he became the successor of Bonner in the bishopric of London, his earlier mode of dealing with his more scrupulous brethren showed his unwillingness to proceed against them with the harshness of Archbishop Parker and the Queen. As time advanced, however, and the Puritans became bolder, he abandoned his former method of argument and persuasion, for the severer logic of the laws. Strype, his honest biographer, vindicates his memory from the aspersions of Heylin and Fuller, and from what he calls the "unjust accusation" of his "slackness in the government of the church's affairs." "For his zeal and affection to the state of the reformed Church of England showed itself, as upon every occasion, so, particularly, in endeavouring to reclaim those they styled *Precisians* and *Puritans*, who, for some few ceremonies made a breach in Christian communion; for though his spirit, as was mentioned before, was easy and complaisant, and liked not of rigour, yet when

Archbishop
Grindal.

* Evan. Biography, vol. ii. pp 175, 176. I do not find that Strype mentions frequent preaching among the Archbishop's episcopal qualities, which are particularly enumerated.

† Con. Hist. Eng. vol. i. c. 4.

BOOK II. he saw that no other means would bring them to obedience,
 CHAP. IV. he approved of restraint, especially of the heads of the
 faction, whom he styled fanatical and incurable."*

His zeal for the preach-
 ing of the
 gospel. The memory of this Archbishop will be revered even by
 the most ardent admirers of the Puritans, for his earnest-
 ness in promoting the deliverance of his church from many
 of the remains of ignorance and superstition, and, above
 all, for his zeal on behalf of the public and extensive
 preaching of the gospel by the clergy. From this motive
 he agreed with Archbishop Sandys, and other bishops, in
 promoting the *propheesyings*, as the meetings of the clergy
 for religious discussions were then called.

The Queen had so great a dislike to these *propheesyings*,
 and also to the number of preachers, that she told the
 Archbishop it was *good for the church to have few preachers*;
 that three or four might suffice for a county; that the
 reading of the Homilies to the people was enough; that
 he must abridge the number of preachers, and put down
 the religious exercises. "The speeches she used to him,"
 Strype says, "were somewhat sharp, and she was very reso-
 lute."

His protest
 against the
 Queen's in-
 terference. The Archbishop looked on these sharp and peremptory
 demands as an infringement on his office, and his conscience
 forbade him to comply with them. On his return from
 court, therefore, he addressed to her Majesty a long letter,
 which has been preserved by Lord Burghley, and is printed
 in the Appendix to Strype's Life of Grindal.†

It is too long for insertion here.

In regard to her Majesty's objection to the increase of
 preachers, he calls it "a strange opinion," and shows that
 it is contrary to the Scriptures. In proving that preach-
 ing promoted loyalty, he refers to London; and he adds,
 —"And in the time of that rebellion, were not all men,
 of all estates, that made profession of the gospel, most
 ready to offer their lives for your defence? Insomuch
 that one poor parish in Yorkshire, which by continual
 preaching had been better instructed than the rest (Halifax
 I mean) was ready to bring three or four thousand able
 men into the field to serve you against the rebels." He

* Strype's Life of Archbishop Grindal, b. ii. c. 16.

† Ibid. Appendix, No. ix.

exposes the motives by which many were swayed in their dislike of preaching. As to the reading of the Homilies, he shows how inferior it must be to preaching, both in suitableness to the people's wants, and in power to impress them. He reminds her Majesty that the Homilies were designed, by statute, to give place to sermons, whensoever they may be had.

BOOK II.
CHAP. IV.

In the second part of the letter he treats of the learned *exercise* and *conference* amongst the ministers of the church. Here, he assures her Majesty, that divers of the bishops agreed with him in thinking that these meetings are profitable to the church, and expedient to be continued. He shows that they are authorized by the canons and constitution of the church, and are appointed and regulated by the bishops. He proves that they are of great antiquity, and sanctioned by prophets and apostles; and that nothing is so necessary in preparing the clergy for the interpretation of the Scriptures to the people. To the reports made against these exercises to her Majesty, he opposes the testimony of nine bishops, together with his own, on behalf of the great and many advantages derived from them. "And for my own part, because I am very well assured both by reasons and arguments taken out of the Holy Scriptures, and by experience (the most certain seal of sure knowledge) that the said exercises, for the interpretation and exposition of the Scriptures, and for exhortation and comfort drawn out of the same are both profitable to increase knowledge among the ministers, and tendeth to the edifying of the hearers, I am forced,—with all humility, and yet plainly,—to profess that I cannot with safe conscience, and without the offence of the majesty of God, give my assent to the suppressing of the said exercises, much less can I send out any injunction for the utter and universal subversion of the same. I say, with Paul, 'I have no power to destroy, only to edify;' and with the same apostle, 'I can do nothing against the truth, but for the truth.'

Defence of
the prophe-
syings.

"If it be your Majesty's pleasure, for this or any other cause, to remove me out of this place, I will, with all humility, yield thereunto. I consider with myself, that 'it is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God.'

BOOK II. I consider also, that he who acts *against his conscience*,
 CHAP. IV. resting upon the laws of God, builds *for hell*. And what
 should I win, if I gained—I will not say a bishopric,—but,
the whole world, and lose mine own soul? ”

“ Bear with me, I beseech you, Madam, if I chuse, rather
 to offend your earthly Majesty, than to offend the heavenly
 Majesty of God.”

The Queen's
 letter.

The Queen could write, as well as the Archbishop ; and
 she could rule the church without him and against him.
 She resolved that he should be suspended from his office as
 Archbishop of Canterbury. She addressed a letter to the
 bishops, commanding them, in the highest tone of imperial
 haughtiness, to take order throughout their dioceses, “ as
 well in places exempt as otherwise,” that no mode of con-
 ducting divine worship be allowed but according to the
 orders established by her laws ; that none but ministers
 conformable in all things be permitted to read, teach, preach,
 or otherwise officiate ; that the curates should be confined
 to the reading of the Homilies ; that any persons attempt-
 ing to continue or renew the forbidden exercises or prophe-
 syings should be committed to prison, and be reported to
 the Queen or the council for their sharper punishment ;
 and this right royal epistle concludes with warning the
 bishops, lest by their negligence her Majesty should be
 forced to make some example in reforming *them* according
 to their deserts. *

The disgrace of the Archbishop, and the injury done by
 it to religion is thus referred to by Sir Robert Cotton.

“ . . . In those days there was an emulation between
 the clergy and the laity, and a strife, whether of them
 should show themselves most affectionate to the Gospel.
 Ministers haunted the houses of the worthiest men, where
 Jesuits now build their tabernacles, and poor country
 churches were frequented with the best of the shire. The
 word of God was precious, prayer and preaching went hand
 in hand together, until Archbishop Grindal's disgrace, and
 Hadfield's (Hatton perhaps) hard concert of prophesying
 brought the flowing of these good graces to a still water.”†

The Queen followed out her determination by sequester-

* Strype's Life of Grindal, Appendix, No. x.

† Ibid. b. ii. c. ix.

Sir Robert
 Cotton's re-
 marks on
 these pro-
 ceedings.

ing the Archbishop for six months. At the expiration of the six months, Lord Burghley urged the Archbishop to acknowledge his fault, and on his refusal to do more than express his sorrow for having offended her Majesty, his sequestration was continued. There was some talk of depriving him of his office, but from an apprehension of the discouragement and disgust such an extreme measure would occasion to all true Protestants, it was determined to proceed more mildly.

BOOK II.
CHAP. IV.

The convocation of 1580 sent a humble petition to the Queen, in which they bore witness that the Archbishop had led a life free not only of all crime, but even from the suspicion of a crime ; preserved his religion from all not only corruption of popery, but from schism ; and had suffered persecution for righteousness' sake—having wandered abroad in other countries for the sake of the gospel ; therefore they “most humbly and unanimously beseeched her not only to lift up the Archbishop, broken and feeble with grief, but to restore the church to him, and him to the church, to her subjects, to his own brethren, to foreign nations, and, in a word, to all pious people.”

Appeal of the
Convocation
on behalf of
the Arch-
bishop.

In the latter end of 1582, the Archbishop having become hopelessly blind, resigned his charge ; and, a few months later, he died at the age of sixty-three.

His death.

The mildness of his temper, the courteousness of his manners, and the manifest piety of his life, have secured for him a grateful memory in the heart of the English nation, which has been deepened by the firmness with which he brooked, at last, the displeasure of that monarch before whom the greatest of her subjects quailed.

ARCHBISHOP WHITGIFT. This stern churchman contrasted strongly with his gentle predecessor. His controversy with Cartwright secured his promotion to the deanery of Lincoln, and, seven years after, to the bishopric of Worcester. He also enjoyed the dignity of vice-president of the marches of Wales.

Archbishop
Whitgift.

At Grindal's decease, he was raised to the primacy, as a magistrate to whom the Queen could entrust the government of the church, in which she was resolved on the most rigorous enforcement of conformity. On two separate occasions, the Queen offered to make him lord chancellor ;

BOOK II. and, on all occasions, she stood by him as the determined
CHAP. IV. adversary of the Puritans, telling him, "that if anything
were amiss, be it upon his soul and conscience to answer it ;
for she had rid her hands, and looked that he should yield
an account, *on her behalf*, unto Almighty God."*

His military
retinue.

He was the intimate friend of Hatton, and, for a long time,
of Essex. He kept "for the exercise of military discipline,
a good armoury, and a fair stable of horses, insomuch as he
was able to arm at all points both horse and foot, and divers
times had one hundred foot and fifty horse of his own ser-
vants, mustered and trained, for which purpose he enter-
tained captains. He had, also, skilful riders, who taught
them to manage their horses, and instructed them in war-
like exercises, all whom he rewarded in a liberal manner."†

He entertained the Queen at one of his houses every
year, and some years twice or thrice. Her Majesty was so
much gratified with her entertainment, that she saluted
him, took leave of him as her *Black Husband*, and called
his men her servants.

His sumptuous appear-
ance in pub-
lic.

On his first journey to Kent, he rode to Dover, attended
by more than a hundred of his own servants in livery, in-
cluding forty gentlemen in chains of gold. The stateliness
of his appearance on that occasion, and the pomp with which
he showed himself on the following Sunday in the cathedral
of Canterbury, were so great, that a Roman Catholic from
Rome who was present, declared to Sir Edward Hobby, that
he never saw a more solemn sight, or heard a more heavenly
sound, unless it were in the Pope's chapel.‡

His temper.

His eulogist acknowledges, that the greatest, or rather
only fault known in him was choler. . . . (which) served
for a whetstone of his courage in just causes." He was the
religious comforter of Elizabeth at her death, and the chief
mourner at her funeral. He crowned King James and his
Queen at Westminster. He ascribed his Majesty's wisdom
in the Hampton Court conference, to the special inspiration
of God ; and entered as heartily into his royal sister's
hatred of the Puritans, as formerly into that of Elizabeth.
He was struck with palsy in returning from the King's
presence, and died a few days after. His last words, ad-

* Sir G. Paule's Life of Whitgift, p. 78.

† Sir G. Paule, pp. 97, 98.

‡ Paule, p. 106.

dressed to the King who visited him on his deathbed, were, "pro ecclesia Dei, pro ecclesia Dei, (for the church of God, for the church of God.) He had been Archbishop of Canterbury twenty years and five months.

BOOK II.
CHAP. IV.

His character, so far as the Puritans were concerned, is glossed over by Sir George Paule, who was the comptroller of his Grace's household. In the abundant memorials of Strype, we see him acting with relentless severity against some of the best men, the ablest scholars, and the most accomplished preachers of the age, because they had conscientious scruples against the imposition of ceremonies, which in his earlier years, and before his advancement in the church, he had himself looked on with serious apprehension.

Different
opinions of
his character.

Hume says that upon the death of Grindal, the Queen determined "not to fall into the same error in her next choice ; and she named Whitgift, a zealous churchman, who had already signalised his pen in controversy, and who, having in vain attempted to convince the Puritans by argument, was now resolved to open their eyes by power, and by the execution of several statutes. He informed the Queen, that all the spiritual authority lodged in the prelates was insignificant, without the authority of the crown; and, as there was no ecclesiastical commission at that time in force, he engaged her to issue a new one, more arbitrary than any of the former, and conveying more unlimited authority.*

Fuller praises him highly, yet gives sufficient hints of his artful dissimulation, saying that "his fingers moved more in church matters than all the hands of all the privy councillors besides ; and he was content to suffer others to be believed, (and perchance to believe themselves) great actors in church government, whilst he knew he could and did do all things himself therein. . . . This was the constant custom of Whitgift, if any lord or lady sued to him to show favour for their sakes to Nonconformists, his answer to them was rather respectful to the requester than satisfactory to the request. He would profess how glad he was to serve them and gratify them in compliance with their desire, assuring them, for his part, all possible kindness should be done un-

* Hist. of England, chap. xli.

BOOK II. to them ; but, in fine, he would remit nothing of his rigour
CHAP. IV. against them.”*

Mr. Neal describes him as a “severe governor of the church, pressing conformity with the utmost rigour, in which her Majesty always gave him her countenance and support. He regarded neither the entreaties of poor ministers, nor the intercessions of courtiers, being steady to the laws, and even outgoing them, in the cause of Uniformity. Though he was a cruel persecutor of the Puritans, yet, compared with his successor, Bancroft, he was a valuable prelate.”†

Dr. Grey opposes to the judgment of Mr. Neale the testimonies of Fuller, Hatton, the Archbishop of York, Bishop Babington, Sir George Paule, Johnston, a Scottish historian, and Arthur Wilson, who styles the Archbishop “a holy, grave, and pious man.”‡

Mr. Hallam, who carefully sifted both sides of all the questions brought before him, says of Whitgift, “whose elevation the wisest of Elizabeth’s councillors had ample reason to regret.” “In a few months after his promotion, he gave an indication of the rigour he had determined to adopt, by promulgating articles for the observance of discipline. One of these prohibited all preaching, reading, or catechising in private houses, whereto any not of the same family should resort, seeing the same was never permitted as lawful under any Christian magistrate. But that which excited the loudest complaints, was the subscription to three points—the Queen’s supremacy, the lawfulness of the Common Prayer and Ordination Service, and the truth of the whole Thirty-nine Articles, exacted from every minister of the church. . . . The Archbishop’s peremptory requisition passed, perhaps justly, for an illegal stretch of power. Whitgift relented not a jot of his resolution, and went far greater lengths than Parker had ever ventured, or, perhaps, had desired to proceed. . . . The primate replied (to Lord Burghley’s letter “Against the Inquisition,”) by alleging reasons in behalf of this mode of examination, but very frivolous, and such as a man determined to persevere in an

* Church History, b. ix. pp. 56-63.

† Hist. part ii. c. 1.

‡ Examination of Neal, ii. pp. 25-29.

unwarrantable course of action may commonly find. . . . BOOK II.
The Archbishop, however, did not stand alone in this im- CHAP. IV.
practicable endeavour to overcome the stubborn secretaries
by dint of hard usage.”*

“He did not disdain to reflect on Cartwright for his poverty, the consequence of a scrupulous adherence to his principles. But the controversial writers of every side, in the sixteenth century, display a want of decency and humanity which even our anonymous libellers have hardly matched. Whitgift was not of too much learning, if it be true, as the editors of the *Biographia Britannica* intimate, that he had no acquaintance with the Greek language. This must seem strange to those who have an exaggerated notion of the scholarship of that age.”†

SECTION VI.—THE STATESMEN AND THE PURITANS.

Whatever reasons the great statesmen of Elizabeth’s reign had for maintaining the Protestant ascendancy, would dispose them to look with less intolerance than mere churchmen on the scruples of the Puritans. Greater public men than Bacon, Walsingham, and Burghley are not celebrated in English history; and the glory of the long and splendid reign through which Puritanism had to struggle for existence, was owing, in a very high degree to their sagacity, patriotism, and loyalty.

The abilities of SIR NICHOLAS BACON were of the highest order. His attachment to the Protestant religion was shown in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., and he maintained it during the reign of Mary. Sir Nicholas Bacon.

For the first twenty years of Elizabeth’s reign, he held the Great Seal, and had great influence on her Majesty’s councils. He was the brother-in-law, and intimate friend, of Cecil, Lord Burghley. He appears to have favoured the

* Hallam’s *Con. Hist. Eng.* c. iv.

† Ibid. In a subsequent note Mr. Hallam says of Neal’s *History of the Puritans*:—“It was answered by Madox, afterwards Bishop of Worcester, in a vindication of the Church of England, published anonymously in 1733. Neal replied with tolerable success; but Madox’s book is still a useful corrective. Both, however, were like most controversialists, prejudiced men—loving the interests of their respective factions better than truth, and not very scrupulous about misrepresenting an adversary. But Neal had got rid of the intolerant spirit of the Puritans, while Madox labours to justify every act of Whitgift and Parker.” It is but fair to remark that Mr. Hallam himself was much better read on one side than on the other.

BOOK II. *earlier* Puritans, and to have acted as a check on the im-
 CHAP. IV. periousness of the Queen, and on the severity of Archbishop
 Parker. But, on the whole, he must be regarded as giving
 all the weight of his reputation, talents, and influence to
 the Queen's dislike of both the civil and religious liberties
 of her subjects.

His illustrious son, Lord Bacon, says of him, "All the
 world voted Sir Nicholas Bacon to be a man, plain, direct,
 and constant, without all finesse and doubleness."* And
 he tells many pleasant stories of his wit and humour in his
 "Apothegms."†

Sir Francis
 Walsingham.

SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM, to whose integrity and pro-
 found management of secret intelligence, Elizabeth owed
 much of her safety, seems to have preserved an even ba-
 lance between the extreme parties in the church. At an
 early period he opposed himself to the rigid enforcement of
 the habits objected to by the Puritans ; while, at the same
 time, he used his influence with their leaders, to prevent
 their separation from the church because of these scruples.
 When the breach had become so wide that many of the
 Puritans felt themselves obliged to separate for the enjoy-
 ment of religious freedom, Walsingham exerted all his
 power in the council to mitigate the harshness of the
 bishops. His regard for Cartwright was shown in the en-
 couragement he gave him to undertake the refutation of
 the Rhemish version, at a time when this great Puritan
 divine was suffering the displeasure of the Queen, and the
 unrelenting opposition of Archbishop Whitgift.

Lord Burgh-
 ley.

LORD BURGHLEY was the constant defender of the Puri-
 tans from the severity of the bishops. His father-in-law, Sir
 Anthony Cook, who was also father-in-law to Sir Nicholas
 Bacon, was one of the exiles. The Puritans fled to him as
 their only human refuge from the storms they had to en-
 counter. He appointed one of their number, Travers, his
 domestic chaplain, and tutor to his son. He interposed in
 behalf of such of them as were smarting under the lash of
 ecclesiastical tyranny. His letters on their behalf display
 the high sense he entertained of their worth, and the dis-
 pleasure with which he regarded the means employed to

* Certain Observations upon a Libel, &c.—Works, 1838, vol. i.

† Apothehgms, Works, vol. i. 25, 27, 36, 101, 125.

put them down. He never professed to be addicted to the Puritans; but in a letter to the Queen, he assigned two reasons for thinking that the course of the bishops towards them was "ill and unadvised:" First—That it lowered the reputation of the Queen in foreign courts, to see such hardships inflicted upon Protestants; and Secondly—That though the Puritans were too squeamish in their scruples, their catechising and preaching were the most effectual means of preventing the growth of Popery.*

Lord Bacon defends him against the charge of ruling the Queen and other ministers, by saying that there never was a councillor of so long continuance, that was so applicable to her Majesty's princely resolutions; that he was a most religious and wise moderator in church matters, to have unity kept, and that he never took the course to unquiet or offend, no, nor exasperate her Majesty, but to conduct her mind and mitigate her displeasure.†

Mr. Hallam remarks on Burghley, that statesmen who betray this unfortunate infirmity of clinging too fondly to power, become the slaves of the princes they serve, and that from such a disposition we could not expect any decided resistance to those measures of severity towards the Puritans, which fell in so entirely with Elizabeth's temper.‡

Though Lord Burghley would never have dreamed of resistance to the Queen, he sought Mr. Cartwright's judgment on the question of her marriage with a Papist; he strongly objected to the proceedings of Bishop Aylmer and of Archbishop Whitgift against the Puritans; and he received the supplications, and used his influence to relieve the sufferings, of their victims.

The most decided friend of the Puritans in Elizabeth's court was Sir FRANCIS KNOLLYS. He had been himself an exile for religion in the reign of Mary. In his place in Parliament he supported, by his speeches and his vote, the progress of reformation in the church. In the Privy Council he opposed the ambition of the bishops. In his letters to the archbishop, he urged greater freedom for the preachers of the gospel. He pressed on Lord Burghley the absurdity of the political charges brought against the Puritans,

Sir Francis
Knollys

* Harleian Miscellany, vol. vii. p. 58.

† Con. Hist. c. iv.

‡ Certain Observations, &c. See Miss Wood's Letters of Illustrious Ladies, vol. ix. p. 279.

BOOK II. and he pointed out to him the danger to her Majesty's
 CHAP IV. government from the high pretensions of the bishops.*

These great statesmen were fettered in their endeavours to protect the Puritans, not only by the power and activity of the bishops, but also, and chiefly, by the resolution of the Queen.

SECTION VII.—THE QUEEN AND THE PURITANS.

It has been the almost chivalrous boast of England that Elizabeth was the wisest, the most popular, and the most glorious of our monarchs. The attempt of Mr. Hume to disparage her memory for the purpose of exalting her successors, has, perhaps, done more than the eulogies of her most servile adulators, to deepen this feeling, and give it strength. We are not here concerned with her personal character; which, whatever it was, must shine in contrast with that of her immediate successor; nor with the general policy of her government; but with the principle on which she acted, and the spirit she displayed, in her conduct towards the Puritans.

Her principle was, obviously, that she was the head of the Church, and that all disobedience to her authority in religion, was treason against her authority in the State. On this principle she issued her commissions for ecclesiastical trials; suppressed all tendency to religious reform in Parliament; appointed bishops who entered into her views; and demanded from all her subjects the most exact conformity to all the rites and ceremonies of the church.

When, therefore, she found, throughout her whole reign, that large numbers of the clergy and of the laity objected to conform, she had recourse to all the powers vested in her as a monarch, to put these Nonconformists down. An archbishop who scrupled to carry out her imperious mandates to the furthest verge of severity was visited with her high displeasure; while another, who entered warmly, and with energy, into her designs, was honoured with the most striking proofs of her regard.

The best apology for her government in relation to the

• Sir Robert Maunton's *Fragmenta Regalia*. Strype's *Annals*, vol. iv No iv.

Spirit displayed by the Queen in dealing with the Puritans.

Puritans, was offered by Walsingham, in a letter printed by Bishop Burnet, and which is the foundation of all the defences of it which have appeared since. It resolves itself entirely into the doctrine, that the practices of all parties opposed to government are to be punished, even though they be coloured with the pretence of conscience and religion. It seems to have been forgotten then, as it is still, that this is a two-edged sword. On these very principles it was that the early Christians were persecuted by the Roman government.

BOOK II.
CHAP. IV.

BOOK III.

THE PROGRESS OF THE PURITANS UNDER THE STUARTS.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY OF THE PURITANS IN THE REIGN OF JAMES I.

A. D. 1603—1625.

SECTION I.—HOPES OF THE PURITANS.

BOOK III.
CHAP. I

THERE were many reasons why the English Puritans should hail the accession of James VI. of Scotland to the English throne. His recognition as the lawful heir to that throne was based less on abstract doctrines of right, than on the tacit consent of the English people.* He had made strong declarations in Scotland of his adherence to the Presbyterian discipline in which he had been educated, publicly avowing his gratitude that he belonged to the purest church in the world, and his purpose to maintain its principles as long as he lived.† He had, also, subscribed the *Solemn League and Covenant*.

Millenary pe-
tition.

Animated by hopes thus founded, the Puritans addressed a petition to the new monarch, signed by eight hundred and twenty-five ministers, from twenty-five counties, in which—disclaiming all factious aims, or schismatical wishes—they humbly prayed for the removal of superstitions, and of sundry abuses which had crept into the church. Similar petitions from other counties were likewise presented to the king in his progress towards the south.

The University of Oxford speedily published an answer to this *Millenary Petition*, as it is called, dedicated to the

* See this question fully and learnedly argued by Mr. Hallam, *Con. Hist.* c. vi.

† Calderwood's *True History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 256.

King, with a preface addressed to Archbishop Whitgift, the chancellor of Oxford and Cambridge, and the Secretaries of State.*

BOOK III.
CHAP. I.

The heads of the University of Cambridge passed a decree, suspending from any degree already taken, and incapacitating for any future degree, any person who should write or speak against the doctrine or discipline of the Church of England, by law established; and they offered thanks to the heads of the sister University for their zeal in this good cause. Privately, the bishops had spared no pains to win the monarch's favour, and to assure him of that devotion to his prerogative which they afterwards displayed.

Conformity
enforced at
Cambridge.

SECTION II.—THE HAMPTON COURT CONFERENCE.

The King's answer to *The Petition* was a proclamation for a *Conference*, to determine the matters in dispute.

The King's
answer.

The place of conference was the interior privy chamber at Hampton Court. The parties were—Archbishop Whitgift, Bishops Bancroft, Matthew, Bilson, Babbington, Rudd, Watson, Robinson, and Dove, together with Dr. Barlow, Dean of Chester, the Deans of the chapel-royal of St. Paul's, Salisbury, Gloucester, Worcester, and Windsor, and the Archdeacon of Nottingham, on one side: on the other side, Dr. John Rainolds, Dr. Thomas Sparkes, Professors of Divinity in Oxford, and Dr. Chadderton, and Mr. Knewstubs, of Cambridge.

DR. RAINOLDS was esteemed as the most learned man in England. Fuller gives a remarkable account of his dispute with his brother William Rainolds, in which each converted the other—William becoming a Roman Catholic, and John a Protestant.† He had distinguished himself at Oxford by maintaining the Protestant doctrines against the challenge of Hart, and against the lectures of Bellarmine. He had been appointed by Walsingham—whom Wood charges with a “strong bias towards Puritanism”—divinity lecturer at Oxford, where his lecture was much thronged and approved by the young students, and where he made

Puritan lead-
ers.
Dr. Rainolds.

* Strype's Life of Whitgift, p. 567.

† Wood gives another account from Parsons.

BOOK III. it his business to read against the hierarchy, and weaken
 CHAP. I. the authority of the bishops ; and thus, by the ascendancy
 of Walsingham and their chancellor Leicester, "divinity had
 a sort of a new face at Oxford, and the first reformation
 was reformed away in a great measure."*

"So temperate were his affections," according to the
 same author, "that he declined a bishopric offered to him
 by Queen Elizabeth." After a most elaborate eulogy on
 his reading, memory, wit, judgment, industry, virtue, pro-
 bity, integrity, piety, and sanctity of life, he says, "in a
 word, nothing can be spoken against him, only that he *with*
Thomas Sparke were the pillars of Puritanism, and great
 favourers of Nonconformity."†

Dr. Sparke. DR. SPARKE had been appointed Archdeacon of Stow by
 Dr. Cooper, Bishop of Lincoln; but he had resigned the
 dignity for conscience' sake. He is represented by the Ox-
 ford historian as a learned man, a solid divine, well read in
 the fathers, and so much esteemed for his profoundness,
 gravity, and exemplary life and conversation, that the sages
 of the University thought it fit, after his death, to have his
 picture painted in the school gallery, among the English
 divines of note there, between those of Dr. John Spenser
 and Dr. Richard Bedes. During Queen Elizabeth's reign he
 had written a treatise on the succession to the crown of Eng-
 land, which brought him into trouble; but King James was
 so satisfied with what he had done that he gave him his most
 gracious countenance. Four years after the Conference, he
 published "A Brotherly Persuasion to Unity and Uniform-
 ity in Judgment and Practice, touching the received and
 present Ecclesiastical Government, and the Authorized
 Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of England," which
 was answered by Nonconformist writers in the following
 year.

Dr. Chadder- at Chatterton, in Lancashire, was designed by his father for
 ton. the law ; and sent, while young, to the Inns of Court ; but
 at the age of twenty he went to Cambridge. On applying
 to his father for some means of maintenance, he, disliking

* Wood's Hist. and Antiquity of the University of Oxford, b. i. p. 301.

† He was one of the translators of the present authorised version of the Eng-
 lish Bible, though he died before that great work was completed.

his change of studies, and still more, his change of religion, "sent him a poke, with a groat in it, to go a-begging withal, further signifying to him that he was resolved to disinherit him, which he did."*

He applied so closely to his studies, that within two years, he became a Fellow of Christ's College, Bachelor of Divinity, and preacher at Paul's Cross. He was, for sixteen years, lecturer at St. Clement's Church, Cambridge. In 1581 he distinguished himself by his opposition to Peter Baro, a French divine, at that time Margaret professor at Cambridge, who introduced some doctrines which were regarded by some of the learned as contradicting the Articles of the Church of England, in a comment on the book of Jonah, and in a work entitled *De Fide*. In his *Defence*, Chadderton declared to the heads of the University, that "God was witness, that in these cases, he neither publicly nor privately spake anything either out of a study of contradiction, or with any mind of speaking evil of any man, but only publicly to teach the true doctrine of the Church of England, (of which he professed himself a member, though the least of all), that had been impugned by a man, however dear to him, especially the sense of the place of Scripture which he took for his text, requiring it."†

His reputation for gravity, learning, and religion, had attracted the notice of Sir Walter Mildmay, Counsellor of State to Queen Elizabeth, Chancellor of the Duchy, and under Treasurer of the Exchequer, and the founder of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. He offered to make Mr. Chadderton the first Master of the new college, and Sir Walter overcame his reluctance to accept the offer, by saying, "If you will not be the master, I will not be the founder of it." It was of this college that Queen Elizabeth said to the founder, "Sir Walter, I hear you have erected a *Puritan* foundation." "No, Madam," he replied, "far be it from me to countenance anything contrary to your established laws; but I have set an *acorn*, which, when it becomes an oak, God alone knows what will be the fruit thereof." On which Fuller remarks: "Sure I am at this day it hath overshadowed all the University—more than a

Mastership of
Emmanuel
College.

* Life of Dr. Chadderton; Appended to Clark's Martyrologie, A. D. 1652.

† Strype's Annals, vol. iii. b. i. c. 5.

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CHAP. I.

moiety of all the present masters of colleges being bred therein."*

Mr. Knew-
stubs.

MR. KNEWSTUBS, the last of the four Puritan divines at the Hampton Court Conference, was a native of Kirby Stephen, Westmoreland, a fellow of St. John's, Cambridge, and a friend of Dr. Chadderton's. While he was the minister of Cockfield, in Suffolk, he had been joined at his house by about sixty ministers of that and the adjoining counties of Norfolk and Cambridge, in conferring on the book of Common Prayer; and these ministers had all refused to subscribe Archbishop Whitgift's *three articles*: for which they were suspended from their ministry.† He was one of the ministers who signed the *Book of Discipline*, and he laboured in the midst of much difficulty and opposition, to extend the reformation in this country.

First day's
Conference.

At the first day's conference, the Puritans were detained in the outer chamber, while the King discoursed with the bishops and deans in the presence of the Lords of the Privy Council.

On the second day, the Prince Henry sat on a stool by his father, and the Puritans were admitted to the royal presence, accompanied by Mr. Patrick Galloway, minister of Perth, in Scotland.

The account of the proceedings vary. One was published by Dr. Barlow, dean of Chester, in which he omits all that the King said against the corruptions of the church. Fuller says, "Others complain that this conference is partially set forth only, by Dr. Barlow, Dean of Chester, their professed adversary, to the great disadvantage of their divines. And when the Israelites go down to the Philistines to whet all their iron tools, no wonder if they set a sharp edge on their own, and a blunt one on their enemies' weapons." He also says, "The Nonconformists complained that the King sent for their divines, not to have their scruples satisfied, but his pleasure propounded; not that

* History of the University of Cambridge, A.D. 1586. This same Dr Chadderton was, as well as Dr. Rainolds, one of the translators of the Bible. Fuller relates of him, that on a visit to his friends in Lancashire, after preaching full two hours, he paused, and said, "I will no longer trespass on your patience." All the congregation called out "Go on, go on!" when he proceeded much longer, to their great satisfaction.—*Fuller's Worthies*.

† Fuller's Church History b. ix., A.D. 1582.—MS. Register.

he might know what they could *say*, but they what he would *do* in the matter."*

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Mr. Patrick Galloway gave an account of this Conference, corrected by the King, which is printed in "Calderwood's True History of the Church of Scotland." Dr. Montague, who was present, gives an account of the Conference in a letter to his mother. The King himself likewise narrates these proceedings in a letter to Mr. Blake, in Scotland, in which he says, "I peppered them soundly." The Bishop of Durham, Dr. Matthew, sent a report of what took place to Dr. Hutton, Archbishop of York.†

The following characteristic description of this famous Conference is given by Mr. Thomas Carlyle :—"In January 1603-4, was held at Hampton Court, a kind of Theological Convention, of intrinsic interest all over England, and doubtless at Huntingdon too ; now very dimly known, as the 'Hampton Court Conference.' It was a meeting for the settlement of some dissentient humours in religion—the Millenary Petition, what we should now call the 'Monster Petition,' for the like in number of signatures was never seen before : signed by *near* a thousand clergymen, of pious, straitened consciences ;—this, and various other petitions to his Majesty, by persons of pious straitened consciences, had been presented, craving relief in some ceremonial points, which, as they found no warrant for them in the Bible, they suspected (with a very natural shudder in that case,) to savour of idol-worship and mimetic dramaturgy, instead of God-worship, and to be very dangerous indeed for a man to have concern with ! Hampton Court Conference was accordingly summoned. Four world-famous doctors, from Oxford and Cambridge, represented the pious, straitened class, now beginning to be generally conspicuous under the nickname *Puritans*. The Archbishop, the Bishop of London, also world-famous men, with a considerable reserve of other bishops, deans, and dignitaries, appeared for the Church—by itself—Church. Lord Chancellor, the renowned Egerton, and the highest official persons, many lords and courtiers, with a tincture of sacred science—in fact the flower of England—appeared as witnesses,

Account of
the Confer-
ence.

* Fuller's Church History, b. x. A.D. 1636.

† Strype's Life of Whitgift, App. No. 56.

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with breathless interest. The King himself presided, having real gifts of speech, and being very learned in theology, which it was not then ridiculous, but glorious for him to be ; more glorious than the monarchy of what we now call literature would be ; glorious as the faculty of a Goethe holding *visibly* of heaven—supreme skill in theology then meant that. To know God, Θεός, the Maker ; to know the divine laws, and *inner* harmonies of this universe, must always be the highest glory for a man ; and not to know them, always the highest disgrace for a man ; however common it be.

“Awful devout Puritanism, decent dignified ceremonialism (both always of high moment in this world, but not of equally high) appeared here, facing one another for the first time. The demands of the Puritans seem to modern minds very limited indeed. That there should be a new, correct translation of the Bible, (granted), and increased zeal in teaching (omitted.) That ‘lay impropriations’ (tithes snatched from the old church by laymen) might be made to yield a ‘seventh part’ of their amount, towards maintaining ministers in dark regions which had none (refused.) That the clergy in districts might be allowed to meet together and strengthen one another’s hands, as in old times, (indignantly refused.) On the whole (if such a thing durst be hinted at, for the tone is almost inaudibly low and humble,) That pious straitened preachers, in terror of offending God by idolatry, and useful to human souls, might not be cast out of their parishes for genuflections, white surplices, and such like, but allowed some Christian liberty in external things : These were the claims of the Puritans ; but his Majesty eloquently scouted them to the winds, applauded by all bishops and dignitaries, lay and clerical, said, ‘If the Puritans would not conform, he would “hurry them out of the country ;”’ and so sent Puritanism and the four doctors home again, cowed into silence for the present. This was in January, 1604.”*

Sir John Harrington, who was an eye-witness, reports the King’s behaviour in the Conference, some parts of which no decent writer would choose to quote. Dr. Wellwood says, “This conference was but a blind to introduce Episcopacy

in Scotland, all the Scotch noblemen then at court being designed to be present, and others, both noblemen and ministers, being called up from Scotland, by the King's letters, to assist at it."

Rapin calls it a "*pretended* conference, whose sole end was, to make the public believe the ministers were convinced and instructed ; that, therefore, it was out of pure obstinacy that they still separated from the church. Hence it was natural to infer that to conquer their obstinacy, it was requisite to use some severity. And this was what the King plainly intimated, when he said, 'he would answer for the bishops that it was not their design immediately to enforce obedience ;' and when he afterwards added more clearly, 'that after such a time, they should be dealt with in another manner.' But this Conference wrought not the conviction of the Puritans ; and all the fruit they realized by it was to show them how much they were mistaken in depending upon his protection."*

The King had a vehement desire to be thought learned, and a master in religious controversies. He was willing to mortify the Puritans, from whose party, in Scotland, he was glad to escape to the obsequious bishops of England.

His conduct on the occasion has been condemned by men of all parties, as that of a pedant, a buffoon, and a bigot. He avowed his maxim to be "no bishop, no king." He said that "he would have one doctrine and one discipline, one religion, in substance and ceremony ; and therefore I charge you never to speak any more to that point (how far you are bound to obey), when the church hath ordained it." Speaking to the lords and the bishops, of the Puritans, he said, "I will tell you, I have lived among this sort of men ever since I was ten years old, but I may say of myself, as Christ said of himself, 'Though I lived among them, yet, since I had ability to judge, I was never of them.'" After asking Dr. Rainolds whether he had anything farther to object, and being answered, "No;" rising from his chair, as he was going to his inner chamber, "If this be all," quoth he, "that they have to say, I shall make them conform themselves, or I will *harry* them out of this land, or else do worse."†

Opinion of
the King's
conduct.

* Rapin's History of England, A. D. 1604.

† Heylin, and some modern writers after him, have substituted *hurry* for

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Conduct of
the clergy.

If it be true, as Dr. Barrow reports, that Bishop Bancroft on his knee protested that his heart melted with joy, and made haste to acknowledge to Almighty God his singular mercy in giving them such a King, as since Christ's time the like had not been; that Archbishop Whitgift said, 'undoubtedly his Majesty spake by the special assistance of God's spirit;' that the temporal lords applauded his Majesty's speeches as proceeding from the Spirit of God, and from an understanding heart;—what opinion is posterity to form of these lords and bishops? There was not one of them who did not know that this same monarch was a loquacious pedant, a coward, a beastly drunkard, a profane swearer, of the filthiest conversation, and most degrading habits; that he was a great dissembler, a greater liar; and, in the judgment of the sagacious Sully, the wisest fool in Europe.*

"His measures towards the Nonconformist party had evidently been resolved upon before he summoned a few of their divines to the famous Conference at Hampton Court. In the accounts that we read of this meeting, we are alternately struck with wonder at the indecent and partial behaviour of the King. It was easy for a monarch and eighteen churchmen to claim the victory, be the merits of their dispute what they might, over four abashed and timid adversaries. †

Uniformity
proclaimed.

The royal decision of the questions which were settled on so arbitrary a style at Hampton Court, was announced in a proclamation, dated March 5, 1604, for uniformity in the Book of Common Prayer, throughout the realm, in which proclamation the King declared he would not give way to any to presume that his judgment should be swayed by the suggestions of any light spirit, nor admit the inconvenience of innovation in matters settled by mature deliberation.‡

In the first parliament, while he expressed himself gently towards the Catholics, he speaks of the Puritans as confused,

harry, not knowing or remembering that the King used the Scotch word *harry*, (or harrow), to "harry out of house and home." *Harry* is the word printed in the original copy of Barlow, p. 85.

• See Osborne's Life of James; Wildon's Court and Character of King James, 1650; Coke's Detection—Sully's Memoirs, vol. ii.: Sir Edward Peyton's Divine Catastrophe, or the Kingly Supplement to the Cabala—Family of the House of Stuarts, 1652; Clarendon's History, vol. i.; Wellwood; Birch; Kennet's Complete History of England; Harris's Historical and Critical Account of the Life and Writings of King James I.; Ranmer, vol. ii. pp. 259-276.

† Hallam, Con. Hist. c. vi.

‡ Strype's Life of Whitgift, vol. ii. p. 528. Rymer's Fœdera, vol. ii. p. 565.

discontented, impatient, and unsufferable in any well-governed commonwealth. *

BOOK III

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The Convocation, in which Bancroft, bishop of London, presided, adopted the Book of Canons, which were sanctioned by the King. These Canons declared that all objectors to the Book of Common Prayer, the apostolical character of the Church of England, or the ordination of bishops, and all abettors of churches not belonging to the established order, were excommunicated from the church, and abandoned to the wrath of God.†

The Convocation adopts the Book of Canons.

In consequence of these Canons, and of the orders to the bishops to enforce them, it has been computed that not fewer than fifteen hundred ministers were suspended. Those who separated from the church were treated, as might be expected, with still greater cruelty.

Mr. Richard Maunsell, a minister, and Mr. Thomas Lud, a merchant at Yarmouth, were cited before the chancellor of the diocese of Norwich, for meeting with Mr. Jackler, their late minister, after public worship on the Sunday, to repeat the heads of the sermons which they had heard in the church. Mr. Lud was compelled to answer certain questions which he was not permitted to see till after he had sworn. After appearing a second time before the Chancellor, he was summoned before the High Commissioners at Lambeth, and, on refusing to swear, until he had seen his former answers, he was sent to prison without the privilege of giving bail. Mr. Maunsell was likewise sent to prison, for refusing to take the oath *ex officio*, and also on a charge of signing a petition to the House of Commons. After being imprisoned for a year, they appeared at the bar on a visit of Habeas Corpus. Mr. Nicholas Fuller, their advocate, argued that they ought to be dismissed, because the High Commissioners had no legal right to imprison the subjects of the realm. Instead of delivering his clients, this eminent lawyer brought on himself the vengeance of Archbishop Bancroft, and the displeasure of the King; and he was cast into prison. Many were his petitions for his enlargement to the King, whom the Archbishop had made acquainted with the case, representing him to the King as

Proceedings against the Nonconformists.

* Parliamentary History, vol. i. p. 977.

† Sparrow's Collections, pp. 271-334.

BOOK III. the champion of Nonconformists, so that he lingered until
 CHAP. I. he died in prison.*

SECTION III.—FLIGHT OF NONCONFORMISTS.

As many of the Nonconformists as could escape from the persecutions, fled to Amsterdam, Rotterdam, the Hague, Leyden, Utrecht, and other places in Holland, where there were English churches. "Archbishop Bancroft," says Rapin, "never ceased to plague the Puritans, to oblige them to conform to the Church of England. For that reason great numbers of these people resolved to go and settle in Virginia, discovered in the late reign by Sir Walter Raleigh. Accordingly some departed for that country ; but the Archbishop seeing many more ready to take the same voyage, obtained a proclamation, enjoining them not to go without the King's license. The court was apprehensive this sect would become in the end too numerous and powerful in America."†

Of those who remained at home, a number of ministers resigned their livings in the church, and published their principles to the world.‡

So bitter was the King's hatred of the Puritans, that not only the objectors to the church ceremonies, but all honest opponents of vice were branded with this title ; and even all who were not very submissive to the King's orders, but assertors of the rights and privileges of the people, were proceeded against, under the same general charge, and with similar severity, by the Court of High Commission. To repress the free spirit of the Commons, who were discussing the severities against the Puritans, and other grievances, the King told the Parliament that his own authority was supreme and absolute ; that for them to meddle with the main points of government was to lessen his dignity who had been thirty years at the lead in Scotland, and had now served an apprenticeship of seven years in England : that he would not have his ancient rights spoken of as grievances ; and that it was most undutiful for

* Fuller's Church History, b. x. A.D. 1610. Lodge's Illustrations, vol. iii. p. 304.

† Hist. of England, A.D. 1608.

‡ Bradshaw's English Puritanism ; containing the Opinions of the most rigid of those who are called Puritans. 12mo. London, 1605.

Despotic severity of the King.

subjects to press their King in matters wherein they are sure to be denied.* Having obtained a subsidy from the Parliament, he soon dissolved it, determining never to call another, but to govern his kingdom absolutely, without so troublesome a yoke.

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In 1611, Archbishop Bancroft died. Whatever praise he may receive as a statesman, he was assuredly "most stiff and stern to press Conformity;" † a vehement assertor of the divine right of bishops to superior government in the church, and a most obsequious parasite to the arbitrary inclinations of the weakest, yet most despotic, of sovereigns. His opinions were those which led to power. He crept along that path by which the patronage of the great rewards the servile, and exalts the mean. His subserviency to the King was paid for by the concession of his people's freedom to the church. He was opposed by judges, lawyers, and parliaments, as earnestly as he was by the Puritans, but with more success. He made strong and heavy the yoke beneath which the nation groaned. Heylin delights to describe how much more coarsely he handled them (the Puritans) than his predecessor, how "hard a hand" he kept upon them, how "by the punishment of some few of the principals, he struck such a general terror into all these, that Nonconformity grew out of fashion in a less time than could be easily imagined; and how the beautiful and repaired churches, the solemn celebration of the liturgy by priests, the punctual observation of fasts and festivals, the regular appearance of surplices and copes, redounded to the glory of the Church of England." ‡

Archbishop
Bancroft's
character.

* Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xvi. p. 694.

† Fuller's *Church History*, b. x. A.D. 1611.

‡ Aerijs Redivivus, b. xi. Sir Edward Coke says of this Archbishop: "He was a man of a rough temper, a stout football player, a zealous assertor of the rights of the Church of England, or rather a faction of churchmen, who arrogated to themselves the title."—Coke's *Detect.* p. 60. Osborn gives the following satires, which show the estimation in which Bancroft was held by some:

"Here lies my lord's grace, at six and at seven,
And if I don't lie, his soul is in heaven;
I wish, from my heart, it may be to his liking,
Since all the world knows it was never his seeking."

Again:

"Bancroft was for plays,
Lean Lent and holidays,
But now undergoes their doom;
Had English ladies store,
Yet kept open a back door,
To let in the strumpet of Rome."

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Archbishop
Abbot.

Dr. Bancroft was succeeded in the primacy by DR. GEORGE ABBOTT. He had been master of University College, Oxford ; twice vice-chancellor of the University ; dean of Winchester ; and—through the influence of the Earl of Dunbar—treasurer of Scotland. One of James's early favourites, he had an opportunity of commending himself to his Majesty, who appointed him in rapid succession Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, then of London, and, finally, Archbishop of Canterbury. He is celebrated by Godwin, the annalist of the bishops, for his learning, eloquence, diligence in preaching and writing, and judicious concern for the Protestant religion. About seven years before the King's decease, the Archbishop had the misfortune to wound by accident the gamekeeper of Lord Zouch, in Hampshire, and the unhappy keeper bled to death. This melancholy event cast a deep gloom over the mind of the Archbishop ; though the King expressed his entire conviction that he was without blame, and wrote a letter of consolation to him with his own hand. His enemies, who hated him for his Calvinism, and for his refusal to "promote persecution for the nonsensical trumpery" which Laud afterwards introduced, procured, in the following reign, a commission, including Laud and four other bishops to suspend him from his authority, on the ground of the casual homicide committed seven years before, of which he had been cleared by a commission at the time. "The truth is," says Fuller, "the Archbishop's own stiffness, and averseness to comply with the Court designs, advantaged his adversaries against him, and made him the more obnoxious to the King's [Charles] displeasure. But the blame did most light on Bishop Laud. As if not content to succeed, he endeavoured to supplant him, who might well have suffered his decayed old age to have died in honour. What need the felling of the tree a-falling ? However, a double good accrued hereby to the Archbishop. First, he became the more beloved of men, (the country hath constantly a blessing for those for whom the court hath a curse ;) and, secondly, he may charitably be presumed to love God the more whose service he did the better attend, being freed from the drudgery of the world ; as that soul which hath the least of Martha hath the most of Mary therein."*

Dr. Wellwood, one of the most impartial of historians, in tracing the causes of the troubles which came on the country in the reign of Charles, has drawn the characters of Abbott and his rival :—"There arose in the preceding reign, two opposite parties in the church, which became now, more than ever, exasperated against each other: the one headed by Archbishop Abbott, and the other by Bishop Laud. Abbott was a person of wonderful temper and moderation; and in all his conduct showed an unwillingness to stretch the act of Uniformity beyond what was absolutely necessary for the peace of the church, or the prerogative of the crown, any farther than conduced to the good of the state. Being not well turned for a court, though otherwise of considerable learning, and gentile [well-bred] education, he either could not, or would not, stoop to the humour of the times, and now and then, by an unseasonable stiffness, gave occasion to his enemies to represent him as not well inclined to the prerogative, or too much addicted to a popular interest, and therefore not fit to be employed in matters of government. Upon the other hand, Bishop Laud, as he was a man of great learning, and yet greater ambition, and natural parts, so he understood nicely the art of pleasing a court; and finding no surer way to raise himself to the dignities of the church, than by acting a quite contrary part to that of Archbishop Abbott, he went into everything that seemed to favour the prerogatives of the crown, or enforce an absolute obedience upon the subject."*

It was in the first year of Dr. Abbott's primacy, that the present authorised version of the Bible, which was undertaken at the suggestion of the Puritans in the Hampton Court Conference, was published.

Authorised
version of the
Bible.

It does not belong to this history to relate how actively King James interposed in the affairs of the Protestants in Holland. Yet they may be referred to as proving the zeal of his Majesty, at that time, for the doctrines of Calvin, in opposition to those of Arminius.†

In 1612, his Majesty had an opportunity of exhibiting his theological zeal in his own dominions. Bartholomew

* Memorials of the most Material Transactions in England for the last Hundred Years, preceding the Revolution in 1688. London, 1710.

† Blandt's Hist. of the Low Countries. vol. i. and iii.—King James' Works, pp. 352-400.—Heylin's Redivivus.—Declaration against Vorstius.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

Bartholomew Legate
burned.

Legate, an Essex man, skilled in Scripture, of blameless conversation, and of fluent tongue, being accused of Arianism, his Majesty had frequent conferences with him, hoping to convert him. On one of these occasions, the King asked Legate, whether he did not daily pray to Jesus Christ? Legate replied, that he had indeed prayed to Christ in the days of his ignorance, but not for these last seven years. His Majesty, in great wrath, spurned at him with his foot, saying, "Away, base fellow, it shall never be said that one stayeth in my presence that hath never prayed to our Saviour for seven years together." For the opinions which such an answer indicates, this man had long been imprisoned in Newgate, and he had continued unmoved by the arguments of the bishops, as well as by the wrath of the King. At length he was pronounced, by a consistory of reverend bishops, able divines, and learned lawyers, sitting with Dr. King, Bishop of London, an obstinate, contumacious, and incorrigible heretic, and delivered to the secular power. The King gave orders, under the privy seal, that this heretic should be burned to death. Fuller, who relates all these particulars, describes the vast conflux of people to see this man burned to ashes at Smithfield, and the following, we are sorry to say, is the pious churchman's reflection:—"And so we leave him; the first that, for a long time, suffered death in that manner, and oh that he might be the last to *deserve it*."*

Edward
Wightman
burned.

Another example of this "seasonable severity" with which the same quaint historian says "God may seem well pleased," occurred only a month after, in the person of Edward Wightman, of Burton-on-Trent, who was convicted before Dr. Neile, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, of an accumulation of heresies, and publicly burned at Lichfield.

The effect of these horrible executions on the public mind was such, that the King afterwards preferred that men should suffer in private, silently wasting their lives away in prison.

The Puritans, who had fled to Holland from the tyranny of Bancroft, included not a few who took a different view of the constitution of the Church, and of its relation to the State, from that which had hitherto prevailed. Mr. Robin-

* Church History, b. x. A.D. 1611.

son, pastor of the church at Leyden, who began with the principles of the Brownists, was guided by Dr. Ames, and other learned divines, to more moderate opinions ; while he admitted, contrary to the Brownists, that the reformed churches might be regarded, and communed with as true churches, he still maintained the lawfulness of separating from them. After residing at Leyden twelve years, he parted with a large proportion of his congregation,—one hundred and one,—who took their departure to America.

BOOK III.
CHAP. I.

THESE WERE THE PILGRIM FATHERS.

The Pilgrim
Fathers

Among the disciples of Robinson was MR. HENRY JACOB, a Kentish-man born, “a person most excellently well read in theological authors, but withal a most zealous Puritan ; or, as his son Henry used to say, the first Independent in England.”*

Mr. Henry
Jacob.

On the banishment of the Brownists in 1593, Mr. Jacob had retired to Holland, but he appears to have returned to England within three or four years, as he took an active part in the once famous controversy respecting the “Saviour’s descent into hell.” He afterwards became the pastor of a church at Middleburgh. In 1609 or 1610 he conferred at Leyden with Mr. Robinson, whose principles of church government he adopted ; and re-published two treatises, entitled “The Divine Beginning and Institution of Christ’s true, visible, and maternal Church,” and “A Declaration and Opening of several Points, with a Sound Confirmation of some others,” in the former publication.

In the year 1616 he returned to London ; when, seeing no prospect of a national reformation in the church, he united with other leading Puritans in forming *the first Independent or Congregational church in England*, of which he was chosen pastor. The same year he published “A Protestation or Confession, in the name of certain Christians, showing how far they agreed with the Church of England, and wherein they differed ; with the reasons of their dissent drawn from Scripture.” To which was added, a petition to the King for the toleration of such Christians. This publication was soon followed by “A Collection of sound Reasons, showing how necessary it is for all Chris-

First Congre-
gational
church in
England.

BOOK III. tians to Walk in all the Ways and Ordinances of God in
 CHAP. I Purity and in a Right Way."

After serving this church as pastor for eight years, Mr. Jacob removed, with the consent of the church, to Virginia; where he died.

The Book of
 Sports.

In the year 1618, King James, returning from Scotland, through Lancashire, found that his subjects were debarred by some Puritans and precise people from lawful recreations on Sundays, after evening prayers; and, after reaching his court, he found that his loyal subjects in other parts of the kingdom suffered in the same kind, though perhaps, not in the same degree. In his princely wisdom, therefore, he published a declaration to all his loving subjects, concerning lawful sports to be used at such times. These lawful sports were, dancing for either men or women; archery for men; leaping, wrestling, or any other such harmless recreation. May-games—Whitsun-ales—morris-dancing—May-poles—rush-bearing—bear and bull-baiting—and bowling, were prohibited.

To this declaration was added his Majesty's pleasure that "the bishop of the diocese take straight order with all the Puritans within the same, either constraining them to conform themselves, or to leave the country, according to the laws of our kingdom, and the canons of our church; and so to strike equally on both hands, the contemners of our authority, and adversaries of our church." All the persons who abstained from coming to church or divine service, were declared "unworthy of any lawful recreation after the said service." Every person was required to resort to his own parish church to hear divine service, each parish by itself; and to use the said recreation after divine service.

This declaration was ordered to be published through all the parishes.*

Opposed by
 Archbishop
 Abbott and
 others.

Archbishop Abbott happening to be at Croydon when the order came to that parish, forbade its being read in the church. Some of the clergy believing that they could not read it without being responsible to God for what they believed to be sinful, refused to read it. Others, considering themselves bound by their obedience to the King's authority, sadly and reluctantly complied. Others again, resolved

* The Book of Sports - Phoenix, vol. ii. 1721.

to read the declaration, or suffer it to be read, and then to preach against it. But, according to Fuller, "no minister in the county (Lancaster) was enjoined to read the book in his parish."*

BOOK III.
CHAP. I.

Though King James had shown his zeal for Calvinism, in his writings against Vorstius, and in afterwards sending his representatives to the Synod of Dort, Laud, and other Arminians, were advanced to the highest stations in the church. As these divines did not find their doctrines in the Articles, they sheltered themselves under the King's prerogative, which they supported in its most extravagant pretensions; while all who either stood up for the doctrines of the Church of England, or contended for the liberties of Englishmen according to the civil constitution, were alike hated by the supporters of arbitrary government, and denounced by them as Puritans.†

Royal patronage to Arminians.

To repress this Puritan party, or rather all the distinct parties comprehended in the one contemptuous designation, preachers against prerogative were silenced, and books written against it were burned. The doctrine of passive obedience was proclaimed in full Convocation at Oxford. The clergy were forbidden by the King to preach on the deep points of predestination; and they were confined, as much as possible, to the catechising of children.

MR. KNIGHT, a learned and moderate divine, was imprisoned for preaching what Laud called a "treasonable sermon," though his doctrine was supported by Pareus, rector of the University of Heidelberg, and by the conduct, at that very time, of the King himself.‡

Mr. Knight imprisoned.

The celebrated DR. JOHN PRESTON had won the admiration of King James, by his skill in managing an argument on the reasoning faculty in brutes, held before his Majesty, when

Dr. John Preston.

* Church History, b. x. A.D. 1616

† There were in this reign State Puritans as well as Church Puritans, whom the Court took too great care to confound one with another; and this confusion of ideas has been preserved to this day.—Rapin, James I. 1619. Lord Clarendon observes how much these two parties misrepresent each other. The Puritans endeavoured to persuade the people that all who held with Arminians intended to introduce Popery; and the other side was no less willing to have it thought that all who adhered to the doctrines of Calvin, also adhered to his discipline, and sought to change the government of the church; though, in truth, the one side was not inclined to Popery, and "very many of the other were most affectionate to the peace of the church, and very pious and learned men."—Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. i. p. 72.

‡ Neal, vol. i. p. ii. c. 2.

BOOK III.
CHAP. I.

he visited Cambridge; and, but for his Puritanism, he was on the high road to preferment. His self-denial in this respect excited the jealousy of courtiers. When he became famous as a preacher, his enemies did all in their power to ruin him. They accused him of seeking the destruction of the church. Though the King heard him preach with great satisfaction, he declined the recommendation of the Marquis of Hamilton to make him one of the royal chaplains. His popularity at court at length rose so high, that it became politic in the Duke of Buckingham to persuade the King to make him chaplain to the Prince of Wales.

The town-lecture at Trinity Church, Cambridge, being vacant, Dr. Preston—who, besides being the Prince's chaplain, was master of Emanuel, and preacher at Lincoln's Inn—was generally desired by the towns-people who supported this lecture. For the sake of this lectureship he refused the bishopric of Gloucester.*

He was considered the head of the Puritan party; and it may be readily believed that the silenced ministers would find some advantage in his influence at court.

Dr. RICHARD SIBBS, well known as the author of "The Bruised Reed," and "The Soul's Conflict," though a Puritan, was much resorted to, not only by learned men in the law, but by many noble personages, and of the gentry and citizens, as preacher at Gray's Inn. At the end of this, or the beginning of the next reign, he was chosen master of Catharine Hall, Cambridge. He was a sufferer, both in the Court of High Commission, and in the Star Chamber, for Nonconformity.†

Dr. ANDREW WILLET, a laborious student, and eminently learned divine, is described by Mr. Neal as a sufferer for Nonconformity in the reign of James I. He had been chaplain to Prince Henry, and had often preached at court.‡

* Fuller's Cambridge, sec. ix.

† Prynne's Canterbury's Doom, published with his Breviate of the Life of Archbishop Laud. London, 1654.—The Life of Dr. Sibbs, in Samuel Clarke's Martyrologie, 1652. Clarke was ejected from St. Bennet-Fink, London. He had been lecturer, by license from Archbishop Abbot, at Coventry, and chaplain to the Earl of Warwick. He was the minister of Alcester. After serving the church forty years he retired into private life, on the passing of the Act of Uniformity in 1666, and employed himself in revising this and other works, and in preparing for publication the Marrow of Ecclesiastical History, the Marrow of Divinity, Examples, all in folio, besides numerous smaller works. He died in 1682.—Palmer's Calamy, vol. 1. p. 97.

‡ See his Life and Death in Abel Redivivus, by Fuller.

He is mentioned by Strype in the affairs of Christ's College, Cambridge, where Puritanism prevailed, among other fellows well known as men of learning, and zealous espousers of Puritan principles.*

BOOK III.
CHAP. I.

DR. ROBERT BOLTON, a native of Blackburn, Lancashire, a man of rare powers and scholarship, was one of the public disputants, on James's visit to Oxford. In 1609 he was president to the rectory of Broughton, in Northamptonshire. Fuller says, "It pleased God to bring him to repentance, but by such a way as the Lord seldom hath, but upon such strong vessels as he intendeth for strong encounters, and rare employments; for the Lord ran upon him as a giant, taking him by the neck, and shaking him to pieces, as he did Job, beating him to the ground, as he did Paul, by laying before him the ugly image of his sins, which lay so heavy upon him, that he roared for anguish of heart; yea, it so affrighted him, that he sometimes rose out of his bed in the night, for very anguish of spirit: and to augment his spiritual misery, he was assaulted with foul temptations. This continued for many months; but God at last gave a blessed issue, and these grievous pangs in the new birth produced two admirable effects in him—an invincible courage in the cause of God, and a singular dexterity in comforting afflicted spirits."†

Dr. Robert Bolton.

"He was one of a thousand for piety and courage, which were so excellently mixed with wisdom, that they who imagined mischief against his ministry, were never able, by all their plottings, to do him any more hurt than only to show their teeth."

MR. ARTHUR HILDERSHAM, grand-nephew to Cardinal Pole, was related to the Royal family of England, his maternal great-grandfather being cousin-german to Henry VII., and his maternal great-grandmother the niece of King Edward IV. His parents had trained him in the Roman Catholic religion; but during his residence at Christ's College, Cambridge, he adopted Protestant principles. This change induced his father to remove him from Cambridge, and it was his intention to send him to Rome; but, on the son's refusal to comply with his father's wish, he was disinherited.

Mr. Arthur Hildersham.

* Annals, vol. iii. b. ii. c. 7. 13.

† The Life and Death of Bolton, in Abel Redivivus.

BOOK III.
CHAP. I.

Thus abandoned, he met, in London, Mr. John Ireton of Cambridge, afterwards rector of Kegworth in Leicestershire, who laid his case before his relative the Earl of Huntingdon, and obtained his support for him at the University. By the same noble patron he was sent to be minister of Ashby-de-la-Zouch. Before he received this living, he had been deprived of a fellowship, for preaching before he had received orders ; and he had been suspended from his office by the High Commission. He was one of the petitioners to King James, on his accession.

Sufferings for
Nonconformity.

In 1605 the Bishop of Lincoln silenced him for Nonconformity ; but during the three years which followed, the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry allowed him to preach at two associations of ministers, one at Ropton, in Derbyshire, and the other at Burton-upon-Trent, and in other parts of his diocese ; and on Dr. Barlow's attaining the see of Lincoln, he was restored to his ministry at Ashby. Three years after, when Dr. Barlow was succeeded by Dr. Neile, Mr. Hildersham was charged by that Bishop with being connected with Wightman, whose public execution as a heretic has been mentioned. Though his innocence of this charge appeared on his trial, and was acknowledged by the Bishop, his ministry was suspended ; and in 1615 he was prosecuted in the High Commission Court ; and for refusing to take the oath *ex officio*, he was sent to the Fleet, and then to the King's Bench prison, from which he was released only on giving bond to appear when summoned. In the following year he was fined £2000, besides the costs of the suit ; degraded from the ministry ; flung into prison ; and ordered to make a public recantation of his errors as the ringleader of schismatics in his neighbourhood.

Though he succeeded in compromising the business by the payment of a heavy sum of money, and in a few years after these troubles was reinstated in his ministry at Ashby, he was once more silenced for about a year, because he refused to read the public service in the hood and surplice.*

Mr. William
Whately.

MR. WILLIAM WHATELY, minister of Banbury, Oxfordshire, was an excellent preacher, a person of good parts, well versed in the original text, both Hebrew and Greek ;

* This account of Mr. Hildersham is abridged from his Life, by Samuel Clarke, and the account given by Mr. Brook, in his Lives of the Puritans, vol. ii. pp. 376-388.

but, being a Calvinist, and much frequented by precise and busy people there, and in the neighbourhood, for his too frequent preaching, laid such a foundation of faction in that place, that it will never be easily removed.* He gave offence to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the High Commission Court by a sermon on marriage ; and by preaching, with other ministers, a lecture at Stratford-on-Avon.†

MR. JOHN BALL, after taking his degree of Master of Arts at Oxford, was invited into Cheshire, to teach the children of the Lady Cholmondley, where, continuing for some time, "he fell into the acquaintance of several severe Puritans, who, working on his affections, brought him over to them. About that time, having gained a sum of money, he went to London with some of them, and made shift to be ordained as a minister there without subscription, by an Irish bishop. Soon after he removed into Staffordshire, and became curate of Whitmore, a chapel of ease of Stoke, where he lived and died a Nonconformist, in a poor house, a poor habit, with poor maintenance of about twenty pounds per annum, and in an obscure village, teaching a school also, all the week, for a farther supply, *deserving as high esteem and honour* (as a noted Presbyterian ‡ observes) *as the best bishop in England, yet looking after no higher things* ; but living comfortably and prosperously with these, &c. The brethren report him to have been an excellent schoolmaster and schoolman (qualities seldom meeting in the same person), a painful preacher, and a profitable writer ; and though somewhat disaffected to ceremonies and church discipline, yet he confuted such as conceived the corruption therein ground enough for a separation."§ According to Mr. Samuel Clarke, who appended a life of Mr. Hall to his "Martyrologie," he resided for many years not in "a poor house," but in that of Edward Mainwaring, Esq., and he was often prosecuted in the spiritual courts, for refusing subscription, and meeting conventicles, though he protested and wrote *against* separation from the church.

* Wood's Ath. Oxon. vol. i. No. 717.

† Brook's Lives of the Puritans, vol. ii. pp. 436-440.

‡ Richard Baxter, in his book entitled, An Unsavoury Volume of Mr. John Crandon's Anatomized. London.

§ Wood's Ath. Oxon. vol. i. No. 733.

SECTION IV.—THE KING AND THE PURITANS.

BOOK III. THE bitter hatred of King James to the English Puritans

CHAP. I. was probably occasioned in no small degree by the restraints which had been put on his arbitrary government,

The *Basilicon Doron*.

by the Puritans of Scotland. In his *Basilicon Doron*, (or royal gift) to his son, written for the guidance of Prince Henry, he speaks of the Puritans with great severity. Finding afterwards, that these censures were taken as seeming "to furnish grounds to men to doubt of his sincerity in that religion which he had ever constantly professed," he inserts some explanations in an address "to the reader." In these explanations he says, "What in other parts I speak of Puritans, it is only of their moral faults, in that part where I speak of policy, declaring when they condemn the law and sovereign authority, what exemplary punishment they deserve for the same. And now, as to the matter itself, whereupon this scandal is taken, that I may sufficiently satisfy all honest men, and by a just apology, raise up a brazen wall or bulwark against all the darts of the envious, I will more narrowly rip up the words whereat they seem to be somewhat stomached.

The royal apology.

"First, then, as to the name, Puritans. I am not ignorant that the style thereof doth properly belong only to that vile sect among the Anabaptists, called the Family of Love, because they think themselves only pure, and in a manner without sin; the only true church. and only worthy to be participant of the Sacraments; and all the rest of the world to be but an abomination in the sight of God. Of this special sect I principally mean when I speak of Puritans; divers of them, such as Browne, Penry, and others having at divers times come over into Scotland to sow their popple amongst us, (and from my heart I wish they had left no such scholars behind them, who by their fruits will, in their own time be manifested.) And, partly indeed, I gave this style to such brain-sick and heady preachers, their disciples and followers as refusing to be called of that sect, yet participate too much with their humours, in maintain-

ing the above-mentioned errors ; not only agreeing with the general rule of all Anabaptists in the contempt of the civil magistrate, and in leaning to their own dreams and revelations : but particularly with this sect, in accounting all men profane that swear not to their phantasies ; in making for every particular question of the policy of the church, as great commotion as if the article of the Trinity were called in controversy ; in making the Scripture to be ruled by their conscience, and not their conscience by the Scripture ; and he that denies the least iota of their grounds, *let him be to thee as a heathen man and a publican*, not worthy to enjoy the benefit of breathing, much less to participate with him of the sacraments ; and before that any of their grounds be impugned, let king, people, law, and all, be trod under foot—such holy wars are to be preferred to an ungodly peace ; no, in such cases, Christian princes are not only to be resisted unto, but not to be prayed for, for prayer must come of faith, and it is revealed to their consciences that God will hear no prayer for such a prince.

“ Judge then, Christian reader, if I wrong this sort of people, in giving them the style of that sect whose errors they imitate ; and since they are contented to wear their livery, let them not be ashamed to borrow their name. It is only of this kind of men that in this book I write so sharply, and whom I wish my son to punish, if they refuse to obey the law, and will not cease to stir up a rebellion. . . . But on the other part, I protest, upon mine honour, I mean it not generally of all preachers, or of others that like better the single form of worship in our church, than of the many ceremonies of the Church of England ; that are persuaded that their bishops smell of a papal supremacy ; that the surplice, the cornered cap, and such like are the outward badges of Popish errors. No ; I am far from being contentious in these things, (which, for my own part, I ever esteemed as indifferent,) as I do equally love and honour the learned and grave men of either of these opinions. It can no ways become me to pronounce so lightly a sentence on so old a controversy.”*

It would be easy to fill a volume with the judgment of

* The Books of the Most High and Mighty Prince James. &c. Edited by the Bishop of Winchester, folio. London, cum privilegio, 1616, pp 143-144.

BOOK III. historical writers on the character of the prince who could
 CHAP. I. publish such language, and yet act, as he avowedly did, through the whole course of his reign, towards the most moderate assertors of *one* of the opinions in this *old controversy*.

Character of
James I.

Educated as a Protestant, yet naturally sympathizing with Catholics; a Presbyterian in Scotland, and an Episcopalian in England; a zealous Calvinist at one time, and a fierce Armenian at another; always belying his professions, and unscrupulous in breaking his promises; it was, perhaps, only consistent with his feeble character, and with the despotic spirit of his government, that he should be the enemy of the manly theologians, the true-hearted and conscientious Englishmen, whom he both feared and hated.

His accession to the English throne was celebrated with solemn religious processions at Rome. Cardinal Aldobrandin, nephew of Pope Clement VIII. exhorted the English Catholics to obey King James, and to pray for him as their sovereign and natural lord; and Parry, James's ambassador in France, who was permitted by his master to live on terms of intimacy with Bubalis, the Pope's nuncio in that country, responded to the exhortation, with an instruction from the King, in which he promised to allow peaceful Catholics to live without molestation.*

Inconsistencies in regard to Catholics.

When the Puritans complained that within a short time, 50,000 Englishmen had become proselytes to Catholicism, James is said to have replied, "that they might go and convert the same number of Spaniards and Italians." Notwithstanding the banishment of the Jesuits, and the other public severities which provoked the Gunpowder Plot, the King acknowledged to a prince of the house of Lorraine who visited him, with the knowledge of Pope Paul V., that he esteemed Augustine above Luther, and St. Bernard more than Calvin; that he recognized the Church of Rome as the mother of churches; and that the Pope was the head of the mother church.

He showed no repugnance to direct negotiations with Paul V., for his consent to Prince Charles' marriage with the Spanish Infanta. In August, 1623, he swore to articles

* Breve relatione di quanto si è trattato tratta S. Sta ed il re d' Inghilterra. (MS. Rom.) Ranke, vol. ii. p. 234.

of that marriage, securing to the Infanta and her suite the exercise of her religion in a chapel of the palace ; intrusting to her the education of all her children ; engaging that no penal law should apply to those children, or take away their right of succession, even though they should remain Catholics ; and promising, generally, not to prevent the private exercise of the Catholic religion, or to impose on Catholics any oath at variance with their faith, but to endeavour to obtain from Parliament the repeal of all laws against them.

The English Catholics began, forthwith, to be treated after a different fashion ; and the *Puritan fanatics*, who were alarmed at the increase of Catholic chapels, and declaimed against the projected marriage, were severely punished.

Toleration of Catholics

When Cardinal Richlieu, the French minister, succeeded in breaking off the Spanish marriage, James had good reasons for preferring a French to a Spanish princess for his son ; and he guaranteed to her nearly the same religious privileges which he had before promised to the Spaniards.*

Dionysio Lazari, who spent some time in England during this reign, made a report to the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, at Rome ; in which, pointing out the means by which the service of the holy Catholic faith might be advanced in this country, he relies much on the plan of working on the fears and suspicions of the King, who was timid, and seemed to be indifferent to any religion.†

The *spirit* of this monarch in his dealings with the Puritans, lies upon the surface of the history. He *dreaded* them. He was incapable of acting towards them either with honour or with generosity. Mr. Welsh, a Scottish minister, who resisted the arbitrary measures of the King to destroy the liberties of the Church of Scotland in 1605, was sentenced to death, but banished. He spent sixteen years in France, where he experienced the clemency of the Catholic King, Louis XIII. After sixteen years' banishment, the physicians assured him that his health could be recovered only by returning to his native country ; and, in

Intolerance to Puritans.

* Rushworth, vol. i. p. 152.

† The Ecclesiastical and Political History of the Popes of Rome, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. By Leopold Ranke, Professor in the University of Berlin ; translated by Sarah Austin. Vol. ii. pp. 456-524 : vol. ii., appendix, p. 269.

BOOK III. 1622, he ventured to come to London. The King refused
 CHAP. I. to permit him to return to Scotland. Mrs. Welsh having
 some relations at court, obtained access to the King, petition-
 ing him to grant her husband this permission.

"Who was your father?" said the king.

Knox's
 daughter.

"Mr. Knox," she replied.

"Knox and Welsh! the devil never made such a
 match."

"It's right like, Sir; for we never speired [asked] him."

"How many children did your father leave? Are they
 lads or lasses?"

"Three; all lasses."

"God be thanked!" cried the King, lifting up both his
 hands, "for an they had been three lads, I had never
 bruited [enjoyed] my three kingdoms in peace."

Mrs. Welsh then urged her request that he would give
 her husband his native air.

"Give him his native air," replied the King; "Give him
 the devil!" [a morsel which James had often in his mouth.]

"Give *that* to your hungry courtiers," said she, offended
 at his profaneness. He told her, at last, that if she would
 persuade her husband to submit to the bishops, he would
 allow him to return to Scotland. Mrs. Welsh, holding her
 apron towards the King, replied, in the true spirit of her
 father, "Please your Majesty, I'd rather kep [receive] his
head there."*

Character of
 James's
 reign.

It is no small testimony in favour of the Puritans, that
 they were so bitterly opposed by a monarch whose personal
 character was so contemptible; whose whole life was a con-
 stant, yet unsuccessful struggle against the judges, the par-
 liament, and the ancient liberties of the subject; whose
 cowardice alone prevented his being a tyrant; whose court
 was the most profligate that ever disgraced a country; whose
 reign, according to Burnet, "was a continued course of
 mean practices;" whose name was the scorn of the age in
 which he lived; and whose government tore from the heart
 of England the love of a loyal people, and provoked that
 quarrel which ended only in the expulsion of his family
 from the throne.

CHAPTER II.

STRUGGLES OF THE PURITANS IN THE REIGN OF CHARLES I.

A. D. 1625—1649

SECTION I.—SUFFERINGS OF THE PURITANS.

CHARLES I. spent his boyhood under the instructions of Mr. Thomas Murray, a favourer of Presbytery ; even as his father had been educated by the learned Presbyterian, Buchanan ; and he was so diligent in his studies, that we are told, Prince Henry, his elder brother, one day placed on Charles' head the cap of Archbishop Abbot, saying in jest, *"if he was a good boy and minded his book, he would make him some day Archbishop of Canterbury."* *

BOOK III.
CHAP. II

On his accession, he married Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry IV. of France, and sister to Louis XIII., the reigning monarch of that kingdom. During the life of Buckingham, Charles and his Queen were perpetually at variance ; but after the Duke's assassination by Felton, the Queen acquired the entire ascendant, not in his domestic affections only, but also in his government. The personal character of Charles has been generally allowed to have been orderly, chaste, sober, and religious—so far as regarded the observation of outward ceremonies ; yet tinged with both superstition and bigotry.† He had a habit of duplicity. Numerous examples are given by historians, which show that he was too apt, in imitation of his father, to consider his promises as temporary expedients, which, after the necessity for making them had passed away, he was not any further to regard ; and that, even when he had pawned his "royal word" to his people, his design was to elude their expectations.‡

Charles I.
and his
Queen.

* Harris's Life of Charles I., p. 7.

† Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. i. p. 81. Warwick's Memoirs, 327-329. Perinchief's Life of King Charles, prefixed to his Majesty's works, p. 62.

‡ Abridgement of Bishop Williams' Life, p. 143. Hume's History of England, c. 51. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 613. Whitelock's Journal, p. 10. Rapin's Hist. of England, vol. ii. p. 571. Sidney's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 365. King's Cabinet Opened, p. 4.

BOOK III.

CHAP. II.

Influence of
the Queen.

“But, as in the primitive times, it is observed that the best emperors were some of them stirred up by Satan to be the bitterest persecutors of the church, so this King was a worse encroacher upon the civil and spiritual liberties of his people by far than his father. He married a Papist, a French lady of a haughty spirit, and a great wit and beauty, to whom he became a most uxorious husband. By this means the Court was replenished with Papists; and many, who hoped to advance themselves by the change, turned to that religion. All the Papists in the kingdom were favoured, and, by the King's example, matched into the best families. The Puritans were more than ever discountenanced and persecuted; insomuch that many of them chose to abandon their “native country, and leave their dearest relations, to retire into any foreign soil or plantation, where they might, amidst all outward inconveniences, enjoy the free exercise of God's worship. Such as could not flee were tormented in the bishops' courts, fined, whipped, pilloried, imprisoned, and suffered to enjoy no rest; so that death was better than life to them. And notwithstanding their patient sufferance of all these things, yet was not the King satisfied till the whole land was reduced to perfect slavery. The example of the French King was propounded to him; and he thought himself no monarch so long as his will was confined to the bounds of any law. But knowing that the people of England were not pliable to an arbitrary rule, he plotted to subdue them to his yoke by a foreign force; and, till he could effect it, made no conscience of granting anything to the people, which he resolved should not oblige him longer than it served his turn, for he was a prince that had nothing of faith or truth, justice or generosity in him. He was the most obstinate person in his self-will that ever was; and so bent upon being an absolute, uncontrollable sovereign, that he was resolved either to be such a king, or none.

The King's
adherence to
prelacy.

His firm adherence to Prelacy was not for conscience of one religion more than another, for it was his principle, that an honest man may be saved in any profession; but he had a mistaken principle, that kingly government in the State could not stand without Episcopal government in the Church; and, therefore, as the bishops flattered him, with preaching up his sovereign prerogative, and inveighing

against the Puritans as factious and disloyal, so he protected them in their pomp and pride, and insolent practices, against all the godly and sober people of the land.”*

His obstinacy in small matters as well as in the great affairs of state and religion, was lamented by the guardians of his childhood, by his courtiers, by his parliaments, by his people, and by historians of all parties.† Burnet represents him as “much inclined to a middle way between Protestants and Papists, by which he lost the one without gaining the other.”‡

He sanctioned, without scruple, the Popish and Arminian innovators in the church, in opposition to the declarations of his parliament, and the judgment of the Archbishop; raising to the bench of bishops Montague and Mainwaring; and appointing as his chaplain, with a prebend at Peterborough, and a rectory in Northamptonshire, Sibthorpe—all of whom had openly published doctrines for which the House of Commons deemed them unworthy, and deserving of impeachment, and incapable of ecclesiastical dignities.§

Opposition to the opinion of the nation.

In opposition to the Protestant spirit of the nation, he encouraged the abettors of the Popish ceremonies and doctrines in the church, and advanced them to highest offices in the State. ||

He received, though contrary to the laws of England, Gregorio Panzain, an Italian, and George Cox, a Scotsman, and afterwards Count Rosetti, as agents from the see of Rome. ¶

He sacrificed the dignity of his character, the rights of Englishmen, and the interests of practical religion, to the enforcement of conformity in external rites, on foreigners who had settled in England on the faith of religious freedom; and on natives who had a better right to that freedom than he had to his throne—exalting the churchmen who

Enforced Conformity.

* Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson, by his wife. Edinburgh. P. 85.

† Perinchief, p. 2. Coke's Deliction. vol. i. p. 211. Strafford's Letters and Despatches, vol. i. p. 38. Laud's Diary, p. 42.

‡ Hist. of his own Time, vol. i. p. 73.

§ Rushworth, vol. i. pp. 199, 634, 635, 649. Heylin's Life of Laud, pp. 153, 155. Collection of Speeches by Sir Edwin Deering. p. 18. Tracts on the Bangorian and Trinitarian Controversies.

|| Hist. of the Parliaments, p. 22. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 210. Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 252. Laud's Diary, p. 47. Clarendon's Hist. vol. i. p. 210. Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 252. Laud's Diary, p. 47. Clarendon's Hist. vol. i. p. 50, vol. vi. p. 280. Strafford's Letters and Despatches, vol. i. p. 381.

¶ Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 305-308. Strafford's Letters, vol. ii. pp. 57, 73, 128. Clarendon's Hist. vol. i. p. 148.

BOOK III.
CHAP. II.

contended for the prerogative to stations of the highest civil rank and power, and suspending, depriving, excommunicating, and barbarously mutilating, the men who had the conscience or the boldness to utter the words of freedom in the pulpit, or through the press.*

He had imbibed from his father the most extravagant notions of his irresponsible and unlimited power as a king ; and he followed his ignoble example, or rather went far beyond it, even at the beginning of his reign, in defying and insulting the Parliament of England.†

Against his own judgment, and in violation of his repeated promises, he abandoned Strafford ; and he consented, when the Parliament became too strong for him, to abolish the votes of the bishops in Parliament ; scheming, at the same time, to bring up the army from the north to overawe the House of Commons. He caused the leading opponents of his will in Parliament to be impeached on a charge of high treason, and he went down to the House, attended by his guards, to demand the persons of these members.

Civil war.

It was against the royal authority, thus degraded, and perverted to the purposes of despotism, that the spirit of English freedom roused itself, and burst into a quarrel. Charles raised the standard of civil war at Nottingham, on August 28, 1642. After various successes against the Parliament, he was at length seized by the army, which first overthrew the Parliament, and then, by an authority unknown to the constitution, tried, condemned, and beheaded the King.

The general state of the Puritans during this reign may be seen in this short sketch.

It will be further illustrated by considering the constitution and acts of the Court of *Star Chamber*, which, with the Court of High Commission, played so conspicuous a part throughout this period. The Star Chamber (*camera stellata*) a court of ancient origin, established for the purpose of checking the barons who resisted the ordinary courts of law, was so called, either from the Saxon word signifying to

* Laud's Diary, pp. 32, 33, 51. Clarendon's Hist. vol. i. pp. 98, 99 ; vol. ii. p. 305. May's Parliamentary History, p. 23. Deering's Speeches, p. 9. Strafford's Letters, vol. ii. p. 99.

† Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson, p. 86. King Charles's Works, pp. 161, 162, 166, 231. Whitelock's Journal, 12, 13, 14. Rushworth, vol. i. 431, 691., preface to vol. ii. Clarendon's History, vol. i. p. 67, 68.

steer or govern, or from the chamber being full of windows ; or, according to Sir Edward Coke, because, haply, the roof of the chamber was garnished with gilded stars ; or because of the nature of the crimes adjudged there, (as *crimen stellionatus*, or *cousenage* ;) or because certain records kept there were known by the name of *starres*.”*

As probable a conjecture as any of these is, that it took its name from the appearance of the Knights of the Garter, with their *stars* on their robes, the days of their assembling to give sentence in weighty causes being called “ star-days,” and the place of their meeting the “ Star Chamber.”† The court consisted of the great officers of the Crown, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Chief-Justice, and some other members of the Privy Council. In the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. the number of the court was at one time nearly forty ; in the reign of Elizabeth, under thirty ; in the reign of James it was much reduced ; but in the reign of Charles I. there were sometimes twenty-six members at important trials. Their jurisdiction extended legally over riots, perjury, misbehaviour of sheriffs, and other notorious misdemeanours, but without a jury.‡ Lord Clarendon tells us it was extended to “ the asserting of all proclamations and orders of state, to the vindicating of illegal commissions, and grants of monopolies—holding for honourable that which it pleased, and for just that which profited ; and becoming a court of law to determine civil rights ; and a court of revenue, to enrich the treasury—the Council-table, by proclamations, enjoining to the people that which was not enjoined by the laws ; and the Star Chamber, which consisted of the same persons in different rooms, censuring the breach and disobedience to these proclamations, by very great fines, imprisonments, and corporal severities, (cropping of ears, slitting of noses, branding of faces, whipping and gagging.)§ That any disrespect to any acts of state, or to the persons of statesmen, was, in no time more penal, and the foundations of right never more in danger to be destroyed.”||

Constitution
of the Star
Chamber.

* Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. iv. b. iv. c. 19-33.

† Rushworth, vol. iv. p. 473.

‡ Commonwealth of England, by Sir Thomas Smith, B.M., ch. 3.

§ Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 473.

¶ History of the Rebellion, b. i. iii.

BOOK III.
CHAP. II.

This odious and oppressive court, together with that of the High Commission, was abolished by statute in the sixteenth year of Charles's reign, to the general joy of the whole nation,* when the monarch was forced to yield to the Parliament.

Archbishop
Laud.

In close connection with the Star Chamber, we must notice the character and proceedings of ARCHBISHOP LAUD—"a fellow of mean extraction, and arrogant pride." "The irregular and superfluous severity with which the Puritan party visited the political crimes of this prelate in his old age, has awakened the no small indignation of posterity. But those who condemn that severity, would be themselves as unjust to overlook the crimes by which he brought that punishment upon him. His reputation is owing to the illegal, barbarous, and unprovoked sentence passed upon him—as little to be palliated as defended—and to the calm, dignified, and courageous manner in which he met it, whereby all his faults, and follies, and cruelties were forgotten, and he who, if he had been let alone, would have sunk into oblivion, or been remembered only for his bigotry and intemperance, is now regarded as a martyr and a saint.

Nothing in his life

Became him like the leaving it."†

The same noble and learned author speaks of Laud, in other passages, as a "narrow-minded priest, who looked with so much horror on the Puritans, that he mixed up their love of freedom with their dislike of Episcopacy,"‡ and as "pushing with fresh energy the innovations to bring the rites of the Church of England as near as possible to those of Rome;" "persecuting the Puritans with redoubled zeal;" "of his excesses, which Lord Coventry countenanced, though he sometimes pretended to disapprove of them; while neither in the council, nor in the chamber, did he anything for 'the law, the constitution, or the public safety.'"§

Laud had remained at St. John's College, Oxford, till he was fifty years old; and in 1611, he became president of that college. He is represented by Bishop Hall and Archbishop Abbott, as eagerly employed, while at Oxford, in

* Blackstone's Commentaries.

† Lord Campbell's Lives of the Lord Chancellors, vol. ii. p. 499.

‡ Ibid. p. 517.

§ Ibid. p. 524.

inflaming the prejudices of King James against the Puritans.

BOOK III.

CHAP. II.

Through the patronage of the Earl of Devonshire, and of Bishop Neile, he had obtained the notice of King James, who appointed him one of his chaplains, bestowed on him the deanery of Gloucester, and took him with him to Scotland to assist him in modelling the church of that country according to the Church of England.

His favour
and promo-
tions.

In 1621, he was consecrated Bishop of St. David's, and in the following year he resigned the presidentship of St. John's College. His celebrated conference with Fisher, the Jesuit, introduced him to a close connection with Buckingham, who made him his chaplain or confessor. In four or five years he became Dean of the chapel-royal, and Bishop of Bath and Wells.

He became a privy councillor, the principal adviser of Charles, and the intimate associate of Strafford after Buckingham's death. By rapid advancements he was raised to the Chancellorship of the University of Oxford, and at the death of Abbott, he succeeded that prelate as Archbishop of Canterbury. "The late Archbishop of Canterbury was no sooner dead, but one of their party (Papists) came to Laud, whom they looked upon as his successor, seriously tendered to him the offer of a cardinal's cap, and avowed ability to perform it; to whom he presently returned this answer,—That somewhat dwelt within him, which would not suffer him to accept the offer, *till Rome was other than it was*; and this being said, he went immediately to his Majesty, acquainting him both with the man and with his message, together with the answer which he made unto it. The like, also, did he, when the same offer was reinforced a fortnight after, upon which refusal *the tempter left him*, and not only for that time, but for ever after."*

Lord Clarendon speaks of Laud as a little man, quick, and rough of temper, impatient of contradiction, and arbitrary.†

Historians ascribe to his vengeance the disgraceful trial of Bishop Williams, who had been his patron;‡ and most

* Laud's Diary. pp. 49, 388.

† Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 252. Lingard, b. ix. p. 313.

‡ Campbell's Lives of the Lord Chancellors, vol. ii. p. 460. "About this time, he (Williams) was instrumental in the promotion of a man who afterwards

BOOK III.
CHAP. II.

of the severities of the Star-Chamber are laid to his account. His grand object was to bring about a conformity of modes of worship in England, Ireland, Scotland, and the English congregations throughout the world ; and in pursuance of this scheme, he insisted that the members of the French and Dutch churches; founded, as we have formerly seen, by letters patent from Edward VI., should repair to the English parish churches ; by which means he molested these foreign Protestants for years, and forced many of them to flee from the kingdom.*

Restoration
of the abandoned forms,
and intolerance of the
Church.

The English churches were adorned with altar-pieces, pictures, images, crucifixes ; the most imposing forms were introduced into the public worship ; the doctrines of the Reformers were everywhere discouraged, or opposed ; the lectures of the Protestant clergymen were abolished ; and the feoffees, or trustees of a society for purchasing lay impropriations for the support of such lectures, were fined in the Star Chamber.† The freedom of the press was destroyed, and the most arbitrary and cruel sufferings were inflicted on such as dared to express their disapprobation of their proceedings. Everything showed that the King had given up to Laud the government of the church, and that Laud resolved through the church, to enslave the nation to the King.

Dr. Edward
Leighton.

All English histories make mention of the case of DR. EDWARD LEIGHTON, father of the well-known Archbishop Leighton, and of that Sir Elisha Leighton, who was loved and trusted by Charles II. according to Burnet, "because he was a very vicious man."‡

Dr. Leighton addressed an "Appeal to the Parliament,"

turned out to be his greatest enemy. Buckingham wished to appoint Laud one of the King's chaplains, whom he found very useful on several occasions, to the bishopric of St. David's ; but most unexpectedly James demurred, on account of some trouble caused to him by the ultra high Church principles of this divine, in attempting to introduce Episcopacy into Scotland. The lord-keeper, Williams, seeking to remove these scruples, the King said to him, 'I perceive whose messenger you are—Stenny hath set you on. The plain truth is, I keep Laud back from all place of rank and authority, because I find he hath a restless spirit, and cannot see when matters are well, but loves to toss and change, and to bring things to a pitch of reformation floating in his own brain. I speak not at random: he hath made himself known to me to be such a one.' The lord-keeper allowed that this was a great fault, which might make Laud be likened to Caius Gracchus, but undertook that it should be cured in time to come. 'Then take him,' said the King, 'but on my soul you will repent it.'"

* Heylin's Life of Laud, pp. 276-278. Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 273.

† Warner's Ecclesiastical History, b. xlv. p. 521.

‡ History of his own Times, vol. i. p. 224.

consisting of ten propositions against the prelates, exhorting them to tell the King of the evils to the church and state which were occasioned by the hierarchy ; to encourage magistrates and ministers to call a free council to determine the question of their authority, and if a council cannot be had, to join in humiliation and prayer before God ; to take away the bishops' revenues ; and to continue a Parliament till the tenets of the hierarchy be tried by the laws of God and of the land.

BOOK III.
CHAP. II.

In this "Appeal," the writer shows a large acquaintance with the laws and history of England, profound theological and ecclesiastical learning, a close and forcible logic, a spirit of devoted loyalty to the King, and an earnest concern for the honour of religion, and for the liberties of the nation. His language is not stronger than Bancroft's against the Presbyterians, or that of any of the Protestant writers of his time against the Roman Catholics. As to his freedom of speech, he says to the Parliament, "we hope your honours will impute it to the present danger ; for who will not cry, if he can do no more, when his mother is like to be murdered before his eyes ;" and to the "well-affectioned reader" he says : "Though in regard of our danger we have used freedom of speech, we neither hate their persons, nor envy their pomp, but we wish their conversion, and safety of the State."—"Labour hard, by prayer and practice, that God may have his honour, the King his right, and the enemies of both their desert, and the Lord will dwell among us."*

Dr. Leighton's Appeal

For this book the writer was seized, by a warrant from the High Commission, when coming out of Blackfriars' Church, on the 17th of February, 1629, and dragged to the house of Bishop Laud. Without any examination, he was sent to Newgate, there put in irons, and kept in a loathsome place, exposed to the rain and snow for fifteen weeks, without receiving a copy of his indictment, and not allowed to be visited by his wife or any of his friends.

When he was brought into the Star Chamber, Laud desired the court to inflict on him the highest punishment in their power. The lord keeper, Coventry, pronounced the sentence, in which all concurred—to be degraded from holy

Brought into
the Star
Chamber.

*The prevailing opinions respecting this book (which Mr. Hallam says he never saw) are drawn from the representations of Heylin.

BOOK III. orders by the High Commissioners, then fined £10,000, and
 CHAP. II. condemned to perpetual imprisonment, after having his ears cut, his nose slit, his face branded, his body scourged, and in that plight to stand in a pillory, first in Palace-yard, and afterwards at Cheapside.

Mr. Ludlow, who gives an account of these proceedings, relates, that a knight who was present in the court, moved one of the lords about the dreadfulness of this judgment, opening to the prelates a gap to inflict such disgraceful punishments upon men of quality; to whom that lord replied, it was only *in terrorem*; that he would not have any one to think that the sentence would be executed.

Horrible cruelties inflicted on him.

As soon as the sentence was passed, we are told Laud pulled off his cap, and, holding up his hands, gave thanks to God, who had given him the victory over his enemies. *He* took good care that the sentence should be executed. Though Leighton escaped from prison, he was apprehended in Bedfordshire, and brought back. On two separate occasions, with a week's interval, his ears were cut off, his nose was slit, his face was branded with burning irons, he was tied to a stake, and whipped "with a terrible cord to that cruel degree," that he himself, writing the history ten years after, affirmed that every lash brought away the flesh, and that he should feel it to his dying day. For nearly two hours he stood, amid frost and snow, in the pillory; from whence he was carried back by water to the Fleet. There he remained until delivered by the Parliament ten years after.*

Mr. Henry Burton.

MR. HENRY BURTON, M.A., a native of Birdsall, or Birstal, in Yorkshire, was educated at St. John's College, Oxford.† His first employment was in the family of Lord Carey, of Lepington, afterwards Earl of Monmouth, whose lady (the daughter of Sir Hugh Trevanion, of Corriheigh, in Cornwall) was governess to King Charles in his infancy. Through Lord Carey's influence, Mr. Burton was appointed clerk to the closet to Prince Henry; and after that prince's death, to Prince Charles. When Prince Charles went to Spain on the affair of his marriage with the Infanta, Mr. Burton was

* Epitome; or Brief Discovery, by Leighton—1646. Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 56. Howel's State Trials, vol. iii. p. 383.

† Though Fuller says—"He rather took a snack than made a meal, in any university."

appointed to attend him ; but after part of his goods were shipped, the appointment was set aside. When Charles ascended the throne, Mr. Burton was suspended from his office of clerk to the closet, by Dr. Neile, Bishop of Durham, who had held the same office under King James. Lord Clarendon represents Mr. Burton as disgusted with the affront thus put upon him, and as expressing his resentment on all occasions, particularly by railing against the bishops.*

Anthony Wood says, he was removed from the new King's service, "for his pragmatism and impudence, in demonstrating, by a letter which he presented to the said King, April 23, 1625, how Popishly affected were Dr. Neile, and Dr. Laud, his continual attendants."†

Reasons for
his suspension.

In 1624, he published a curious work on "Simony," and in 1631, a treatise on "The Law and the Gospel Reconciled, with a special bearing on the divine obligation of the Fourth Commandment." On the 5th of November, 1626, he preached in his own church two sermons in which he charged the bishops with dangerous plots to change the orthodox religion established in England, and to bring Romish superstition in their room ; and blamed them for several innovations in divine worship, which he specified. For these sermons he was cited before Dr. Duck, one of the ecclesiastical commissioners. The commissioner tendered to Mr. Burton the oath *ex officio*. Instead of taking the oath, he appealed to the King. Notwithstanding this appeal, he was soon after suspended, during his absence, from his office, and deprived of his benefice, by a special High Commission Court. He hid himself in his house, and published his sermon, with an apology, justifying his appeal to the King.

On the night of February 6, 1637, the sergeant-at-arms, accompanied by the sheriff and other officers, broke open his doors, ransacked his study, and in the Bishop of London's name, carried him to a constable's house for the night, and on the next day he was conveyed to the Fleet, by order of the Privy Council, and confined there for several weeks. He wrote in the Fleet three appeals—one "To his Majesty;" one "To the Judges;" and another to "The True-hearted Nobility." Mrs. Burton, the writer's wife, was committed

Imprisoned
in the Fleet

* Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. i. p. 210.

† Ath. Oxon. vol. I. p. 192.

BOOK III. to prison, for presenting copies of her husband's sermons and
 CHAP. II. appeals to some of the Lords.*

For these epistles, and for the sermons, he was prosecuted in the Star Chamber as a malicious libeller. After a course of most illegal and iniquitous proceedings, he was fined £5000, deprived of his benefice, degraded from his ministry, and university degrees, set in the pillory in Palace-yard, Westminster, where both his ears were cut off; and he was ordered to close imprisonment for life in Lancaster Castle, where he was denied the use of pen, ink, and paper, and not permitted to see his wife, or any other person except his jailer.

As Mr. Burton stood in the pillory in the Palace-yard, Westminster, he made a long, though interrupted speech. His parishioners petitioned for his liberty; but the gentlemen who presented it were committed to prison for their pains.

When confined in Lancaster Castle, great crowds resorted to the place; so that he found means to get some of his papers dispersed in London; in consequence of which he was removed from thence to Cornet Castle, in Guernsey, where he remained for three years. In 1640 he was released by the Parliament, and entered London in triumph. He was restored to his living; but he afterwards joined the Independents.†

Mr. William
 Prynne.

One of Mr. Burton's fellow-sufferers was MR. WILLIAM PRYNNE, of Lincoln's Inn, a voluminous and useful writer of books on law. In 1632, he published a large and heavy book against the stage, entitled "*Histrion-Mastix*," [The Player's Scourge] in which he represented the acting of popular or private plays as infamous and unlawful, and players as persons who were worthy of the whipping-post; adding that among the Greeks and Romans, female actors were notorious impudent and prostituted strumpets. The book was published with the license of Dr. Goad, Archbishop Abbot's chaplain. About six weeks after the publication of this book, the Queen acted a part in a *pastorale* at Somerset House. Archbishop Laud, and some other pre-

* A New Discovery, p. 14. Burton's Narrative of his own Life, 1643.

† An answer to Burton's sermons was published by Heylin, in 1637. Fuller's Church History, b. xl. Rushworth, vol. i. Clarendon, vol. i. Strafford's Papers, vol. ii. p. 57.

lates, whom Prynne had vexed by some treatises against Arminianism, and against the jurisdiction of bishops, showed his book against plays to the King, stating that the author had written expressly against the Queen. Mr. Peter Heylin was ordered by Laud to read the book, and make extracts of the objectionable passages. When the extracts were completed, the Archbishop directed Mr. Noy, the attorney-general, to prosecute the author in the Star Chamber. By a disgraceful trick, he was deprived of the power of legally answering the charges brought against him, and the court fined him £5000, expelled him from the University of Oxford, and from Lincoln's Inn, and degraded him from his profession as a barrister. One ear was cut off as he stood in the pillory at Westminster, and the other ear was cut off in Cheapside, where he again stood in the pillory, while his volumes were burned under his nose.*

Four years after these sufferings, he was brought into the same court, for some pamphlets which he published against Laud, and some other prelates, by whom he had been thus injured. On this second occasion, he was once more fined £5000, lost his ears—which were now hacked off to the very stumps, was branded on both cheeks with the letters S. L. (seditious or schismatic libeller), and was imprisoned for life in Carnarvon Castle.

Second prosecution.

In the year 1636, DR. BASTWICK, a physician at Colchester, published some pamphlets reflecting on the bishops, for which in the Court of High Commission, he was excommunicated from the church, suspended from practice as a physician, and fined £1000, which was afterwards increased to £5000, with the costs of the suit. He was also required to make a recantation, and condemned to prison, first for two years, and then for life. He likewise suffered the loss of his ears, and stood with Burton and Prynne in the pillory.

Dr. Bastwick.

The speeches of these sufferers produced a deep impression on the public. "What say you to it," said Laud in a letter to Lord Strafford, "that Prynne and his fellows should be suffered to talk what they please while they stood in the pillory, and win acclamations from the

* Mr. Gurrard, in a letter to Lord Strafford, adds, that Mr. Prynne "got his ears sewed on, and that they grew again to his head." Strafford's Letters, vol. i. p. 261.

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people, and have notes taken of what they said, and those notes spread in written copies about the city; and that when they went out of town to their several imprisonments, there were thousands suffered to be in the way to take their leave, and God knows what else. Once again you return to Prynne and his fellows, and observe most rightly that these men do but begin with the Church, that they might after have freer access to the State; and I would to God other men were of your lordship's opinion, or, if they be so already, I would they had some of your zeal, too, for timely prevention; but for that we are all too secure, and will not believe there is any foul weather towards us. For in what sort these men were suffered in the pillory, and how they were attended out of the city, I have already written; and since, I hear Prynne was very much welcomed, both at Coventry and at West Chester, as he passed towards Carnarvon."*

Letters to
Strafford.

Mr. Gurrard, writing to the same noble lord, says:—"M^r Ingram, sub-warden of the Fleet, told the King that there were no less than 100,000 persons gathered together to see Burton pass by, betwixt Smithfield and Brown's Hill, which is two miles beyond Highgate. His wife went along in a coach, having much money thrown to her as she passed along. Complaint hath been made to the Lords of the Council of a sheriff at West Chester, who, when Prynne passed that way through Chester to Carnarvon Castle, he, with others, met him, brought him into town, feasted and defrayed him; besides, this sheriff gave him a suit of coarse hangings to furnish his chamber at Carnarvon Castle; other presents were offered to him, money and other things, but he refused them. This sheriff is sent up for by a pursuivant."†

Emigration
of the Puri-
tans.

The sufferings inflicted on the Puritans induced large numbers of them to emigrate to Holland, and to America. The theological opinions of Laud, who was chosen chancellor of Oxford in 1630, gave occasion to new disturbances at Oxford, on grounds that were sometimes, though not always, nor perhaps generally, quite distinct from those which had hitherto distinguished the Puritans from the opposite party in the church. From this time forward,

* Strafford's Papers, vol. ii. p. 99.

† Ibid, vol. ii. p. 114.

consequently, there was an additional reason in the minds of the Puritans, for objecting to the hierarchy, and a new excuse on the part of that hierarchy for oppressing the Puritans. Many clergymen were expelled from the universities, and deprived of their ecclesiastical livings, for their maintenance of what they believed to be the doctrines of their own church, and what were certainly the doctrines of the reformers and their successors, down to the days of Whitgift.*

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The question of Sabbatical observance had been moved in the days of Elizabeth, when a long controversy arose upon it.† The Book of Sports, in the previous reign, had thrown difficulties and hindrances in the way of the Puritan party. The controversy was now revived. The Puritans disliked the word Sunday as the designation of the Lord's day, preferring to call it the Sabbath; and they regarded all business, and especially all recreations and amusements, on that day, as a violation of the law of God. Another party, disliking the word Sabbath, as savouring of Judaism, confined the religious observance of the day to the hours employed in public worship; and they held it to be lawful, and desirable, that after the hours of service, dances, masks, balls, and plays should be encouraged.

Questions relating to the Sabbath.

Between these two parties there seems to have been a third, who had no objection to the term Sabbath, or the word Sunday, but preferred "The Lord's Day," as the designation of the weekly day of rest and public worship; and, without forbidding strictly all recreation on that day, still objected to the indulgence claimed by the court party, as inconsistent with the sacred duties of the day.

The day was spent, as in other places, so in Somersetshire, in a way which the gentry of the country perceived to be highly injurious to the morals of the people; and they persuaded the judges of the western circuit to make a strict order for suppressing the Sunday wakes and revels. This act of the judges was complained of by Archbishop Laud, as an interference with ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and he procured a commission to Bishop Pierce and other divines, to inquire

Proceedings in Somersetshire.

* See the proof of his statement in Archdeacon Hare's "Mission of the Comforter," vol. ii., and in Macaulay's History of England, vol. i.

† Fuller's Church Hist., b. ix. Strype's Annals, iii, 1496. Strype's Whitgift. Price's History of Nonconformity, vol. I. p. 432.

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into the manner of publishing the order, and into the conduct of Sir Thomas Richardson, Lord-Chief-Justice, one of the judges concerned in this business. The Chief-Justice renewed the order at the following assizes, and he punished several persons for neglecting it. When Sir Thomas returned to London, Archbishop Laud sent for him, commanding him to revoke the order, as he would answer for it at his peril—for such was his Majesty's pleasure. The judge pleaded that the order had been given at the request of the justices of the peace in the county, and with the consent of the whole bench, founded on ancient precedents; but in vain; for in the assize which next followed, he had the mortification of reversing the order. "The justices of the peace," says Fuller, "in Somersetshire, who in birth, brains, spirit, and estate, were inferior to no county in England, drew up a humble petition to his Majesty, for the suppressing of the aforesaid unlawful assemblies, concurring with the Lord-Chief-Justice therein, sending it up by the hand of the *custos rotulorum*, to deliver it to the Earl of Pembroke, Lord-Lieutenant of their county, to present it to his Majesty."*

This was not the only petition; nor were all the petitions on the same side. The King issued his declaration, that the feasts and wakes should be observed; and ordered the justices of the peace in their several divisions to look to it that all disorders there be prevented and punished, and that "all neighbourhood and freedom, with manlike and lawful exercises, be used." It was, further, his Majesty's will, that this command be published by order from the bishops, through all the parish churches of their respective dioceses.†

The opposition to the doctrines and spirit of the earliest reformers, which had now become the principle of the government, both in the state and in the church, was working, beneath the surface, a great change in the minds of the most devout and thoughtful Englishmen; and the lovers of religion and the advocates of freedom were preparing to make common cause against the common enemy.

The disturbances in Scotland, occasioned by the forced introduction of the government and ceremonies of the English Church, ripened into war. The discontent was deep and

* Church History, b. xi.

† Phoenix, vol. ii., tract prefixed. Fuller's Church History, b. xi. pp. 33-44.

general throughout England, when the Long Parliament assembled in 1640.

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SECTION II.—THE LONG PARLIAMENT.

It belongs to the department of civil history to narrate the proceedings of this memorable assembly. One of its earliest acts was the appointment of a committee, by which many of the clergy, who had been sequestered for Non-conformity, were restored. Another committee prosecuted the bishops and other eminent churchmen who had been most active in pressing conformity; while at the same time they proceeded to censure and remove such of the lower clergy as were proved to be "scandalous ministers."

Leighton, Burton, Prynne, and Bastwick, were recalled from their prisons, and their oppressors were punished. The Courts of High Commission and of the Star Chamber were abolished.

The opinions and spirit of the Scottish Presbyterians were spreading through the country and the Parliament. Petitions were extensively signed, some for the limitation of the power of the bishops, and others from thousands of clergymen as well as laymen, for the abolition of the office. This was the famous *Root and Branch Petition*.

Root and
Branch Pe-
tition.

The opposition to the bishops went so far, that, even in the House of Lords, a bill for excluding churchmen from the Privy Council and the magistracy, was supported by a weighty minority; and its rejection led, in the House of Commons, to a bill for the exclusion of the bishops from Parliament, in which the Lords concurred, and which received the King's assent.

Among the terms submitted by the Parliament to the King for a negotiation, before the civil war, was one which required that the liturgy of the church should be revised.

In the great rebellion or civil war, it was not so much the political as the *religious* grievances of the nation, that gathered adherents to the Parliament. It was PROTESTANTISM, watching with jealousy the tendencies towards the hated system of Rome, and clinging to the Bible, and to purity of religious worship and discipline, that animated

The religious
character of
the civil war.

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a portion of the peerage, and the higher gentry, with the great masses of the town population, the merchants, traders, and substantial freeholders of England, together with the most learned and pious of the clergy, in resisting the sovereign and the bishops. The Protestant massacre in Ireland was *known* to have been countenanced by Charles and his Queen. It was seen that the crisis of English liberties had arrived, and that the *forms* of the constitution must give way to its essential *spirit*. There were many lovers of monarchy, of peace, and of the church, who satisfied themselves, on deliberate reflection, that the parliamentary side was, upon the whole, the side of right, and of national freedom. To these were added many more, sober, earnest, religious men, who felt that the *truth*, which was dearer to them than even liberty, could be secured as an inheritance for their children only by the triumph of the laws of England. The friends of morality and decency also, alarmed at the general spread of licentiousness, were compelled to join the standard of the Parliament.

Terms of the
League be-
tween Scot-
land and
England.

As the breach between the King and the Parliament went so far as an appeal to the sword, this history has no farther connection with it. When the Scots were summoned to the aid of Parliament, they, having procured the abolition of Episcopacy, and bound themselves in a solemn covenant to maintain the Presbyterial discipline, made the establishment of that discipline in England one of the terms of their agreement with the English commissioners sent down to Scotland, for joining in the war against the King's army. On the 12th of June, 1643, the Parliament passed an ordinance "for the calling of an assembly of learned and godly divines and others, to settle the government and liturgy of the Church of England, and for vindicating and clearing the doctrines of the said church from false aspersions and interpretations, but not giving them any jurisdiction, power, or ecclesiastical authority whatever."

It was ordered by the Parliament that the knights and burgesses should appoint divines from the several counties to constitute this assembly, to the number of a hundred and twenty. The Episcopal clergy for the most part refused to attend, as the King issued a proclamation, declaring that the acts of this assembly ought not to be received by his

subjects ; and threatening to proceed against the divines composing it, with the utmost severity of the law.

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SECTION III.—THE WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY.

The Assembly of Divines, including thirty lay assessors, and a hundred and twenty divines, was held in Westminster Abbey, on the 1st July, 1643. DR. WILLIAM TWISSE of Newbury was appointed prolocutor or president of the Assembly. The lay assessors included ten peers, the Earls of Northumberland, Bedford, Pembroke, Salisbury, Holland, Manchester, with Lords Say and Seal, Codway, Wharton, and Howard of Esrick. The commoners associated with these peers were John Selden, Francis Rous, Edmund Prideaux, Sir Henry Vane, Sir Henry Vane, jun., John Glyme, (recorder of London), John White, Bulstrode Whitelock, Humphrey Salway, Oliver St. John, Sir Benjamin Redwark, John Pym, Sir John Clotworthy, Sir Thomas Bannington, William Wheeler, William Pierrepont, Sir John Evelyn, John Maynard, Mr. Sergeant Wilde, Mr. Young, and Sir Matthew Hale.

Lay members of the Westminster Assembly.

There were also, as lay assessors from Scotland, Lord Maitland, Duke of Lauderdale, the Earl of Lothian, and Johnston, Lord Warriston. The ministers from Scotland were Messrs. Henderson, Gillespie, Rutherford, and Bailie. Of the hundred and twenty divines summoned, sixty-nine assembled ; but others were added from time to time. Only a few of the Episcopal divines attended ; and even those who came withdrew after a while, assigning as their reason for withdrawing, that the Assembly was forbidden by the King's proclamation ; that they were not chosen by the clergy, and therefore could not represent them ; that the clergy and laity were mixed together ; and that their apparent design was to pull down the hierarchy.

Scottish members.

The Assembly was opened by a sermon by Dr. Twisse, on John xiv. 18, in Henry VII.'s chapel, both houses of Parliament being present.

On the arrival of the commissioners from Scotland, the covenant, now "the Solemn League and Covenant," which was referred by the houses of Parliament to the Assembly, became the subject of considerable debate, and was adopted,

The Solemn League and Covenant adopted.

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after some explanation on the subject of prelacy. This document was shortly afterwards subscribed by the Assembly, and by both Houses of Parliament, each man standing uncovered, with his right hand lifted up bare to heaven, worshipping the great name of God, and swearing to the performance of it. It was ordered by the Committee of States in Scotland to be sworn to, under the severest penalties, by the Lords of the Council, and by the whole kingdom. In the following February, it was ordered to be sworn to by all persons in England above the age of eighteen. If any minister refused to take the covenant, or to tender it to his parishioners, he was reported to the House of Commons; and none who refused to take it were allowed to be common council men of the city of London, or even to vote in the election to that office. Young ministers were required to take it at their ordination; and none of the laity who refused were entrusted with any civic or military place.

Against all this the King issued his proclamation; but the States of Scotland replied by sending him the reasons of their conduct, and advising his Majesty to take the covenant himself.*

Transmitted
to the Conti-
nental
churches.

Letters were sent from the Assembly to the Protestant churches in the Netherlands, Switzerland, and France, unfolding to them the state of the three kingdoms, sending them a copy of the Covenant, and calling for their sympathy. These letters were followed by a counter appeal to these foreign churches from the King.

Final com-
position of
the Assem-
bly.

After the secession of the Episcopalians, the Assembly was composed of three distinct parties — Presbyterians, Erastians, and Independents. The majority were Presbyterians, advocates for the establishment of the presbyterial form of church order, as a Divine institution. The chief favourers of this party in the House of Commons, were Denyell, Hollis, Glynne, Sir William Waller, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir John Clotworthy, Sir Benjamin Rudyard, Sergeant Maynard, Colonel Massie, and Colonel Harley. Their leaders in the Assembly were Twisse, Calamy, Whyte, Palmer, and Marshall.

* Whitelock's Memorials. Heylin seems to think that, as the preface and conclusion of this ordinance contained 666 words, it was "the number of the beast." Life of Laud, p. 511.

The *Erastians* were those who considered that the form of church government was not appointed in Scripture, but was a matter left entirely to the magistracy, with whom alone resided the power to inflict punishment for any offences. The most eminent men among the laity, as Selden, Whitelock, and Oliver St. John, were of the party. The Independents were a very small party, opposing the establishment of a presbyterial government, and maintaining that every particular congregation of Christians has an entire and complete jurisdiction over its members, to be exercised by the elders of the congregation within itself. This party consisted of the following ministers: Goodwin, Simpson, Nye, Burroughes, Bridge, Greenhill, and Carter.

Besides these parties, there were others, as Gatakar, Burgess, and Arrowsmith, who preferred a limited Episcopacy, such as that which Archbishop Usher proposed, and for which Baxter had declared his partiality.

The Assembly adopted Mr. Rous' version of the Psalms, and drew up a Directory for Public Worship, instead of that in the Book of Common Prayer. The Directory was sanctioned by the Parliament, and enforced by heavy fines, together with the prohibition of the Common Prayer in churches, chapels, or private families. The King issued a proclamation against the use of this Directory.

When the Assembly came to the Form of Discipline and Government for the Church of England, they were thrown into a debate which lasted thirty days, and which entirely broke their strength.

The Presbyterians and Independents agreed that there was a *form* of church government laid down by divine institution in the New Testament, but the Erastian party objected to this.

The Erastians agreed with the Presbyterians, that their form of government was one which it was proper for the magistrate to establish; but they denied the divine right of presbytery, in which denial they were joined by the Independents, who held their own scheme of church order to be of divine appointment. It was at length determined by a large majority in the Assembly, that the presbyterial form of government was of divine appointment.

In the House of Commons, the clause of the *divine right*

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Different
sects and
parties.

Directory for
Public Wor-
ship.

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of the presbyterial government was rejected, though the Common Council and the city ministers petitioned on its behalf. The Parliament also reserved to itself, contrary to the views of the Presbyterians, the final authority, or the *power of the keys*, in ecclesiastical offences.

Debate on
Toleration.

After a long discussion between the Presbyterians and the Independents, on the question of tolerating churches that dissented from the presbyterial model, each party came to its own conclusion in the Assembly. The majority declared against the toleration ; but no sanction was given to this decision by the Parliament.

The prospect of toleration for all sects was viewed with alarm by the city clergy; the Scottish Parliament demanded from the English Parliament the civil sanction to what the Assembly advised, declaring that as they were bound to this by the covenant, they would maintain it with their lives; and an eager controversy was kept up, both in the pulpit and through the press, in which the advocates on both sides put forth all their strength.

The Parliament remained firm in refusing to grant the opponents of toleration the power to enforce their own principles by the sword. After the Independents had withdrawn from the Assembly, the scheme of presbyterial government for the kingdom of England was drawn up. It was carried into effect in London and in Lancashire ; in other parts of the kingdom it went no farther than county associations for church business, without any legal authority or jurisdiction.

Abolition of
the office of
bishops.

In the year 1646 the Parliament abolished the offices and titles of archbishops and bishops throughout England and Wales, and appropriated their revenues to the charges of the war, with the exception of the tithes and other offerings, which were set apart for the maintenance of preaching ministers.

During the same year, the Assembly completed the Confession of Faith. The Parliament agreed in the doctrinal part of the Confession, but rejected those relating to discipline.*

The Larger Catechism, for exposition in the pulpit, and

* The fourth paragraph of chapter xx., and chapters xxx and xxxi. Even the doctrinal articles, it should be remembered, were approved of by majorities, not by the whole Assembly or the whole Parliament.

the Shorter Catechism, for the instruction of children, which did not contain the articles on church government, were likewise prepared by the Assembly, and printed by authority of Parliament.

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Having accomplished these objects—the Directory for Worship, the Confession of Faith, the Form of Church Government and Discipline, and a Public Catechism—the Scottish Commissioners returned home.

The Assembly was not formally dissolved by the Parliament, but the business of the Presbyterian church was carried on in the meetings of the London clergy, and in the provincial assemblies.

The controversy respecting toleration was still carried on at a tedious length.

The best use which can now be made of the controversy is, to acknowledge the imperfect views of parties in that age; and to rejoice that there is no body of English Christians in the present day that would subscribe to the intolerant principles so zealously contended for, by so many learned and good men in the seventeenth century.

Of the leaders in this remarkable assembly, the reader may form a judgment from the following sketches of the most noted of them.

Leaders of the
Westminster
Assembly.

DR. TWISSE, the president of the assembly, was of German origin; his grandfather being the first of the family in England. He was born at Speenhamlands, in the parish of Speen, near Newbury, Berkshire, where his father was a substantial clothier. After displaying much promise at Winchester College, he became a fellow of New College, Oxford.

Dr. Twisse.

For sixteen years he devoted himself to the study of theology, and when he took orders, he became a frequent and diligent preacher, noted for his subtile wit, exact judgment, exemplary life and conversation, and for all the qualities that became his office.

When he took his degree of doctor in divinity, he went to Bohemia, as chaplain of Princess Elizabeth, daughter of King James, and the consort of the Prince Palatine. On his return from Bohemia he exchanged his college living at Newton Longville for that of Newbury. “His plain preaching” according to Wood, “was good, his solid dispu-

BOOK III. tations were accounted by some better, and his pious way
CHAP. II. of living by others, (especially the Puritans) best of all :
Yet some of New College, who knew the man well, have often said in my hearing, that he was always hot-headed and restless. The most learned men, even those of his adverse party, did confess that there was nothing extant, more accurate, exact, and full, touching the arminian controversies, than what was written by this, our author, Twisse. He, also, if any one, (as those of his persuasion say) hath so cleared and vindicated the cause from the objected absurdities and calumnies of his adversaries, as that out of his labours, not only the learned, but also those that are best versed in controversies, may find enough whereby to disentangle themselves from the snares of opposites. The truth is, there's none almost that have written against arminianism since the publishing anything of our author, but have made very honourable mention of him, and have acknowledged him to be the mightiest man in those controversies that his age hath produced. Besides Newbury, he was offered several preferments, as the rectory of Benefield, in Northamptonshire, a prebendship in the Church of Winchester, the wardenship of Wykeham's College there, and a professor's place at Francker, in Frisland. But the three last were absolutely refused ; and the first he would not accept unless he could obtain liberty of his Majesty (in whose gift Newbury was, and is) to have also an able man to succeed him there. Besides, also, upon conference with Dr. Davenant, bishop of Salisbury, ordinary of that place, the King was so well satisfied concerning Twisse, that he was unwilling to let him go from Newbury. In the beginning of the civil war, begun by the Presbyterians in 1641-42, he sided with them, was chosen one of the Assembly of Divines, and, at length, prolocutor of them. Among whom, speaking but little, some interpreted it to his modesty, as those of his persuasion say, as always preferring penning before speaking; and others to the decay of his intellectuals. But polemical divinity was his faculty, and in that he was accounted excellent. While he was prolocutor he was one of the lecturers in St. Andrew's Church, in Holborn, near London, which was given to him for his losses he sustained at New-

bury, being forced thence, as his brethren said, by the royal party.

. . . . After he had lived seventy-one years, he departed this mortal life in Holborn, in 1645, and was buried the 24th July, the same year, in the Collegiate Church of St. Peter, within the city of Westminster.*

Mr. Robert Bailie, one of the Scottish Commissioners in the Assembly, calls him "doubtless the most able disputer in England." "The man, as the world knows, is very learned in the questions he has studied, and very good, beloved of all, and highly esteemed; but merely bookish, and not much, as it seems, acquainted with conceived prayer, and, among the unfittest of all the company for any actions; so, after the prayer, he sits mute. It was the canny conveyance of these who guide most matters for their own interest, to plant such a man, of purpose, in the chair.'†

MR. JEREMIAH BURROUGHES, "full of sweetness and modesty," was one of the able men, of whom Mr. Bailie says, "if the cause were good, the men have plenty of learning, wit, eloquence, and above all, boldness and stiffness to make it out."‡

Mr. Jeremiah
Burroughes.

In early life Mr. Burroughes had been obliged to leave the University of Cambridge, and his native land, for non-conformity. A few years before the calling of the Westminster Assembly, he was deprived of Fitshall, in Norfolk, (where Mr. Edward Calamy, the elder, was fellow-labourer with him,) and, fleeing from ecclesiastical severity, became teacher in the congregational church of which Mr. William Bridge (afterwards, like himself, a member of the assembly) was pastor at Rotterdam. At the breaking out of the civil war, he returned to England, and became eminent as a preacher in the parish churches of St. Giles, Cripplegate, and of Stepney: in the latter church he was associated with Mr. William Greenhill; and in allusion to them Hugh Peters, in a sermon preached in the pulpit of that church,

* Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. No. 59. Additional particulars of Dr. Twisse will be found in his correspondence with Mede, in Mede's Works, folio, 1692, and in Whitelock's Memorials. Clarke's Lives of Eminent Persons in this latter age, Divines, Nobility, and Gentry, folio, 1683. Reid's Memoirs of Divines of the Assembly, Paisley 1811.

† Letters and Journals of Robert Bailie, A.M., Principal of the University of Glasgow, edited by David Laing, Esq: 1841. Vol. ii. pp. 108-312.

‡ Ibid, vol. ii. pp. 110, 111.

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called one the morning, and the other, the evening star. He was one of "the Dissenting Brethren" in the assembly who presented the Apologetical Narration, and "reasons against certain Propositions," in explanation and vindication of their dissent from the judgment of the Presbyterians in Church Government. He likewise published a "Vindication" of himself from the representations of Vicars and Edwards, who wrote against him. His last work, published in the year of his death, was "Irenicam: To the Lovers of Truth and Peace: Heart Divisions opened in the Causes and Evils of them; with cautions that we may not be hurt by them."*

Mr. Burroughes' incessant labours, and his grief for the distractions of the times, are said to have hastened his end. He died of consumption, November 14, 1646, in the forty-seventh year of his age.†

Mr. Stephen
Marshall.

MR. STEPHEN MARSHALL, though styled by Wood, "a notorious Independent, and the arch-flamer of the rebellious rout." was one of the Presbyterian clergy, sent with Sir H. Vane, Sir William Armine, Mr. Hatcher, Mr. Dalry, and Mr. Philip Nye, as the commissioners of the English Parliament to the General Parliament, in 1643. Baylie speaks of him before his arrival in Scotland, as "a notable man, who would be welcome, if not Nye." He describes him as preaching with great contentment,‡ during his visit to the North. In the Westminster Assembly, the same writer mentions Marshall as "the best preacher in England,"§ as siding with the Scottish Presbyters in their opinion of "ruling elders; as chairman of the committee for drawing up the Directory for Worship, and introducing it to the Assembly with a smooth speech: as the writer of the letters to the foreign churches; as preaching the thanksgiving sermon before the great feast given by the city of London to the Parliament, and the Assembly at Taylor's Hall; agreeing with the Presbyterians in their scheme of Church

* Several Treatises of Burroughes are in Dr. Williams' Library. Some of them have been frequently reprinted. A copious analysis of his works relating to the church controversies in the assembly, is given by Mr. Hanbury in his Historical Memorials, in vols. II. and III. In vol. III. p. 112, (note), Mr. Hanbury says, "that the four surviving Apologists, with William Greenhill, John Yates, and William Adderly, superintended the publication of eleven volumes, quarto of Burroughes' remains.

† Brook's Lives of the Puritans, vol. III. p. 25.

‡ Ibid. vol. II. p. 104.

§ Ibid. vol. II. p. 148.

Government, but differing from them as to the seat of the excommunicating power." He thus speaks of him on one occasion: "This day was the sweetest that I have seen in England. General Essex, when he went out, sent to the Assembly to entreat that a day of fasting might be kept for him. We appoint, this day, four of our number to pray and preach at Christ's Church; also, taking the occasion, we thought meet to be humbled in the Assembly, so we spent from nine to five very graciously. After Dr. Twisse had begun with a brief prayer, *Mr. Marshall prayed large two hours*, most divinely confessing the sins of the members of the Assembly, in a wonderfully pathetic and prudent way."*

On another occasion, he speaks doubtfully of Marshall:—

"While Cromwell is here, the House of Commons, without the least advertisements to any of us, or of the Assembly, passes an order, that the grand committee of both houses, Assembly and us, (the Scottish Presbyterians) shall consider of the means to unite us and the Independents; or, if that be found impossible, to see how they may be tolerated. This has much affected us. These men have retarded the Assembly these twelve long months. This is the fruit of their disservice, to obtain really an act of parliament for their toleration, before we have gotten anything for presbytery, either in Assembly or Parliament. Our greatest friends, Sir Henry Vane, and the solicitor (Oliver St. John) are the main procurers of all this; and that without any regard to us, (the Scots) who have saved their nation, and brought these two persons to the heights of the power they now enjoy, and use to our prejudice. We are on our way, with God and men, to redress all these things as we may. We had much need of your prayers. This is a very fickle people; so wonderfully divided in all their armies, both their Houses of Parliament, Assembly, city, and country, that it's a miracle if they fall not into the mouth of the King. That party grows in strength and courage; the Queen is very like to get an army from France. The great shot of Cromwell and Vane is, to have a liberty for all religions, without any exceptions. Many a time we are put to great trouble of mind: we must make

* Brook's Lives of the Puritans, vol. ii. p. 184.

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the best of an ill-game we can. Marshall miskens (overlooks) us altogether ; he is for a middle way of his own, and draws a faction in the synods to give ordination and excommunication to congregations, albeit dependently in case of mal-administration ; God help us. If God be pleased to settle Scotland, and give us Newcastle, all will go well. We must see for new friends at last, when our old ones, without any the least cause have deserted, and half betrayed us.”*

Another passage shows that Mr. Marshall was losing favour with his own party :—

“ But their greatest plot, wherewith yet we are wrestling, is an order of the House of Commons, contrived by Mr. Solicitor (Oliver St. John) and Mr. Marshall, which they got stolen through to the committee of lords, commons, and divines, which treated with us to consider of differences in point of Church Government, which were among the members of the Assembly, if they might be agreed ; or, if not, how far tender consciences might be borne with, which could not come up to the common rule to be established, that so the proceedings of the Assembly might not be retarded. This order presently gave us the alarm ; we saw it was for a toleration of the Independents, by act of parliament, before the presbytery or any common rule were established. Our most trusty friend the solicitor, had *throughed* it the house before we heard of it. Mr. Marshall had, evidently, in the prosecution of it, slighted us.”†

Again, he describes Mr. Marshall as “ helping the Independents :”‡ “ They plead for a toleration to other sects, as well as to themselves, and with much ado could we get them to propose what they desired to (for) themselves. At last, they did give us a paper requiring expressly a full toleration of congregations, in their way everywhere separate from our’s. In our reply we did flatly deny such a vast liberty, and backed it with reasons, and withal we begun to show what indulgence we could, for peace’ sake, grant. Here Mr. Marshall, our chairman, has been their most diligent agent, to draw too many of us to grant them much more than my heart can yield to, and which, to my power, I oppose.”§

* Baillie’s Letters, vol. ii. p. 230.

† Ibid. vol. ii. p. 260

‡ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 235.

§ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 342.

Before these proceedings in the Assembly, Mr. Marshall had been engaged in a vigorous controversy on Episcopacy with Bishop Hall. The worthy bishop had laid before King Charles what he calls "Irrefragable Propositions against the solemn League and Covenant;" and, a year after, he dedicated to his Majesty as "under God appointed the great Patron of all divine truths, the great guardian and protector of these parts of His church upon earth," an elaborate treatise on "Episcopacy, by Divine Right," which was followed by "a Humble Remonstrance to the High Court of Parliament," on behalf of the Liturgy, and Episcopal Government of the Church of England.*

To "this remonstrance" an answer was published in 1641, written by Smectymnws.†

In 1665 Mr. Marshall was associated with Mr. Caryl, as chaplains of the commissioners to the King at Newcastle, and at Holmby House, in Northamptonshire. While in this situation, the King declined to avail himself of the services of these chaplains, though he was unattended by any of his chaplains in ordinary.‡

Mr. Eachard, according to his usual candour, calls him 'a famous incendiary, and assistant to the parliamentarians, their trumpet in their feasts, their confession in their sickness, their councillor in their assemblies, their chaplain in their treaties, and their champion in their disputations.' This great Shimei, being taken with a desperate sickness, departed the world, dead and raving.§

He was better known to Baxter, and other good men.

* Hall's Works, folio, 1662. Vol. iii. pp. 118, 208.

† The word was formed of the initials of the names of Marshall and other writers who joined with him in the composition of the book. S. M[arshall,] E. C[alamy,] T. Y[oung,] M. N[ewcorien,] W. S[pursten]. The controversy was kept up with great spirit. Some of the most splendid of Milton's prose works belong to it. Milton's Prose Works, (Child's Edition, 1834,) pp. 1—75.

‡ Anthony Wood says: "They, the said ministers, upon the desire of the Commissioners, did offer their service to preach before the King, and say grace at meals; but they were both by him denied, the King always saying grace himself with an audible voice, standing under the state (canopy.) So that our author Caryl and Marshall (to whom the King nevertheless was civil) did take so great disgust at his Majesty's refusals, that they did ever after mightily promote the Independent slander of the King's obstinacy. 'Tissaid that Marshall did on a time put himself more forward than was meet, to say grace; and while he was long in forming his chaps, as the manner was among the saints, and making ugly faces, his Majesty said grace himself, and was fallen to his meat, and had eaten some part of his dinner before Marshall had ended the blessing. Ath. Oxon., vol. ii. p. 414. (Caryl.)

§ The History of England, from the time of Julius Cæsar to the conclusion of the reign of James II. Folio, London, 1720, pp. 783.

BOOK III.
CHAP. II.

They gave him a different character, and described his death in very different terms. He died at Ipswich, after two years of retirement and affliction. Conversing on his death-bed with some friends, he said :—" I cannot say, as one did, ' I have not so lived that I should now be afraid to die ;' but this I can say, I have so *learned Christ*, that I am not afraid to die." He had the full use of his understanding to the last ; but he lost the use of his hands, and his appetite, insomuch that he could eat nothing for some months before he died. . . . His remains were solemnly interred at Westminster Abbey, but were dug up again at the Restoration.

Mr. Bailie's references to Marshall in his sickness, and after his death, are not without interest. " I am sorry Mr. Marshall is a-dying : he was ever in my heart, a very eminent man. His many sermons on that verse of John viii. 36, *If the Son make you free, ye shall be free indeed*, I have oft pressed him to make public : he was the preacher who, now living, ordinarily most affected my heart. Mr. Marshall long ago lost the hearts of our nation. He was the main instrument of that national covenant with God and among ourselves, which was wont to hang on the walls of our churches : it will hang ever before the eye of God, the Prime Covenanter : never a league so openly and universally trod upon, and obliterated without any just cause. I wish Mr. Marshall, for saving of his own soul, before he appear at Christ's bar, did exoner (ate) himself with the Protector, if he come to visit him, as I think he will, or otherwise in write (ing) about every article of the covenant. I think the Protector will take it as well to be freely and friendly dealt with, by dying Mr. Marshall as any man on earth ; and I hope Mr. Marshall will be lothe to deny this very necessary and last service to Christ and his own soul, if you three will require it of him."

To this letter Mr. Aske replies :—" Mr. Marshall was dead before I received your letter ; and I cannot give you intelligence of any conference with the Protector, either in

* Neale's History of the Puritans, vol. ii. c. iii. The indignity of digging up these bones was inflicted on Dr. Twisse and on Mr. W. Strong, another clerical member of the Assembly. Nor was it confined to them, as will appear hereafter.

† Letter to Mr. Simeon Aske, vol. iii. p. 302

reference to the Covenant, or any other concernment. He was more satisfied with the change of government, both civil and ecclesiastical, than many of his brethren."*

BOOK III.
CHAP. II.

The last reference to Marshall in Baillie's Letters is in a letter to Mr. Francis Rous,—the translator of the Psalms for the church service,—in which the writer exhorts his ancient friend, in his extreme old age "to do some service yet for presbytery in England :—

"While there is time, and you are not gone, do service to God and to good men. Mr. Tate, *Mr. Marshall*, Mr. Whitaker, Mr. Vines, Mr. Henderson, Mr. Gillespie, and many more of our dear friends are gone ; at once the rest of us will follow, and stand before our Master."†

MR. PHILIP NYE, one of the most conspicuous members of the Assembly was son-in-law to Mr. Marshall. According to Anthony Wood,‡ he was born of a good family in Sussex, entered Brazen-nose College, Oxford, in his nineteenth year, but removed to Magdalene College, where he was put under the tuition of a puritanical tutor. After taking his degrees in arts, he became the minister of St. Michael's Church, Cornhill, London. This charge, however, he was obliged to resign on account of his puritanical principles, and he lived about seven years at Arnheim, in Guilderland ; from thence he returned to England, after the meeting of the Long Parliament, and obtained the living of Kimbolton, in Huntingdonshire, by the favour of the Earl of Manchester. He accompanied Mr. Marshall, Sir Henry Vane, and others, as we have seen, as commissioners from the English Parliament to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, and on his return became a leading champion for the Solemn League and Covenant. His conduct in the Assembly has been partially referred to in the account already given of Mr. Marshall by Mr. Baillie. There are several more pointed references to Nye in the same remarkable letters. Baillie calls him the "head of the Independents."§ Speaking of Nye's preaching at Edinburgh, he says—"In the afternoon, in the Greyfriars, Mr. Nye did not please. His voice was clamorous ; he touched

Mr. Philip
Nye.

* Letter to Mr. Robert Baillie, in Baillie's Letters, vol. iii. p. 206.

† Ibid. vol. iii. p. 326.

‡ Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. No. 403.

§ Ibid. vol. ii. No. 81.

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neither in prayer nor preaching, the common business ; he read much out of his paper book. All his sermon was on the common head of a spiritual life—wherein he ran out, above our understandings, upon a knowledge of God as God, without the Scripture, without grace, without Christ. They say he amended it somewhat the next Sabbath.* Nye was one of ten or eleven independent men in the Synod, many of them very able men, to whom others were extremely opposite, and somewhat bitterly, on the office of teachers in the church.† On the question of the metrical version of the Psalms, Mr. Nye did speak much against a tie to any psalter, and something (probably in favour) “ of the singing of paraphrases as of preaching of homilies. We, *underhand*, will mightily oppose it ; for the psalter is a great part of our uniformity, which we cannot lift up, till our church be well advised with it.”‡

“ When our chief question, that many particular congregations were under the government of one presbytery,” when Nye saw the Assembly full of the prince, nobles, and chief members of both houses, he did fall on that argument again, and very boldly offered to demonstrate that our way of drawing a whole kingdom under one national assembly as formidable, yea, pernicious ; and thrice over pernicious, to civil states and kingdoms. All had him down, and some would have had him expelled the Assembly as seditious. Mr. Henderson shew(ed) he spoke against the government of our’s, and all the reformed churches, as Lucian and the Pagans (were) wont to stir up princes and states against the Christian religion. We were all highly offended with him. The Assembly voted him to have spoken against the order—this is the highest of their censures. Maitland was absent, but enraged when he heard of it. We had many consultations what to do, at last we resolved to pursue it no farther, only we would not meet with him, except he acknowledged his fault. The Independents were resolute not to meet without him, and he resolute to recall nothing of the substance of what he had said. At last we were entreated by our friends to shuffle it over the best way might be, and to go on in our business. God, that brings good out of evil, made that miscarriage of Nye a mean to do him some good ; for ever

* Wood’s Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. No. 97.

‡ Ibid, vol. ii. p. 110.

† Ibid, vol. ii. p. 121.

since, we find him, in all things, the most accommodating man in the company.”* Baillie complains again, of Nye’s opposition in several circumstantial matters, and of a remonstrance to Parliament against “the huge increase, and insolences intolerable of the Anabaptists and Antinomians,” and of his contending for the right of church members to vote in matters of discipline.

The eminent statesmen, jurists, and scholars, who sat as laymen in this Assembly, are well known to the readers of English history, to which their character belongs, rather than to that of the Puritans. On the general character of the Assembly itself, very different opinions have been given, according to the party views or personal feelings with which the minds of the writers have been tinctured. It was, surely, a noble gathering for a noble purpose. It was summoned for giving advice to Parliament in one department of its multifarious business. The Assembly had no power. Its long debates were, probably, encouraged by the Parliamentary leaders, to divert the subtle and active minds which composed it from meddling too much with general politics, and to keep them not only employed but under control.†

Lay members of the Westminster Assembly.

The progress of religious freedom in modern times has kept many from duly estimating the learned and pious churchmen who expressed their horror of tolerating all sects; and comparatively few, perhaps, are now in a condition to appreciate the labours of that Assembly, or to trace their influence on the minds of men in following generations.

Although the Scottish commissioners mistook, as we believe, the genius of the English people, and had but dim insight into the intentions of the English Parliament; although there was too much both of northern and southern nationality; although the spirit so natural to every priesthood, and to every church establishment was stronger than it ought to be; though there was a morbid dread of the evils that seemed to be the necessary consequences of entire religious freedom;—still the Westminster Assembly con-

* Wood’s Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. pp. 145, 146.

† Orme’s Life of Baxter. For an elaborate history of the Assembly, written by a Presbyterian, see the “History of the Westminster Assembly of Divines,” by the Rev. W. M. Heherrington, author of the “History of the Church of Scotland,” &c. &c. Edinburgh, 1843.

BOOK III. tained within it the germs of nearly all the civil and religious liberty which has wrought such happy effects in England, and in her ancient colonies on the western side of the Atlantic. And even yet, it must be acknowledged, the very principle of religious liberty is far from being understood, or acted on, throughout the greater part of Christendom.

CHAP. II.

SECTION IV.—OVERTHROW OF THE MONARCHY.

As it does not belong to our object to narrate the political history of the times, the reader will not expect more than a very brief reference to the abolition of the monarchy, and the execution of the King. The time it is hoped, has gone by, when persons were so ignorant, or so bigoted, as to connect those events with either the religious or the political principles now held by any party in common with the Puritans.

From the conflicting statements of men pledged to opposite parties, on the most exciting of all questions, the calmer writers of later times and of other countries besides our own, have drawn a tolerably correct narrative of the facts, and have formed a somewhat impartial judgment of the men.

With the aid of such writers, we have studied this grand tragedy in English history. The spirit of *English* liberty which had been down-trodden by the Norman barons, and, with the help of their feudal successors, and of the church, curbed by the princes of the house of Tudor, slowly but steadily diffused itself among the yeomanry, and still more through the communities that grew into power with the progress of trade and the increase of towns. The wealth and intelligence, the union and energy, arising from the same causes which also prepared the way for the Reformation, required a great enlargement of wisdom, and we must add of goodness, in the rulers of such a people. Unhappily, such were not the qualities either of James or of his son; and the rulers of the church, Bancroft and Laud, in both these reigns, believed, we may suppose, that they served the church by exalting the prerogative of the monarch, and jealously thwarting the liberties of the people.

Two distinct classes of motives were at work in widening

the breach between the throne and the subjects—the *religious* and the *political*. Though both might unite, and doubtless often did, in the same mind, they were not necessarily blended ; numbers acted as politicians, and numbers acted as the religious. But as these parties were suffering from a common grievance, it was impossible that the one should not influence the other. It is among the proofs of human weakness, that there should be men who cannot conceive of the love of liberty being allied to religion ; and others who will not believe that religion can have anything to do with social subordination, and graduated political institutions. One consequence of this weakness is, that by one party, every advocate of authority is regarded as something very like a tyrant, and every combatant for freedom by another party, as of necessity a rebel ; while each party joined with the other in denouncing the tyrant or the rebel, according to their respective views, as a hypocrite.

To one of these extremes it belonged to believe or say all manner of evil things against the King and the bishops, and to the other, to believe or say quite as many evil things of regicides, who destroyed a church. Now here are the facts : the Parliaments were so disliked by Charles, that, like his father, he resolved, if possible, to reign without them. This, however, he could not do, without inflicting grievances on his subjects contrary to the laws. When the Parliament—the Long Parliament—met, it quarrelled with the King, both the King and Parliament appealed to the sword. This brought a new power into the field, an army without a constitutional leader. That army having conquered the King, quarrelled with the Parliament, and crushed it in its turn. It was by this triumphant army—not by the Parliament—not by the people—not by any church or religious sect, that the King was destroyed ; because they knew that if they did not destroy him, he would destroy them, and with them, all the liberties for which they had pledged their fortunes, and exposed their lives. There was among them, at least one man who saw that either Charles or himself must perish—the hero of Marston Moor, and of Naseby. He made his choice ; he had the sword in his hand ; Charles was brought to the block ; Oliver Cromwell became the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England.

BOOK III.
CHAP. III.

"Modern readers," says Mr. Carlyle, "ought to believe that there was a real impulse of heavenly faith at work in the controversy; that on both sides, more especially on the army's side; here lay the central element of all, modifying all other elements and passions; that this controversy was in several respects very different from the common wrestling of Greek with Greek, for what are called 'political objects.' Modern readers, mindful of the French Revolution, will perhaps compare these Presbyterians and Independents to the Gironde and the Mountain. And there is an analogy, yet with differences. With a great difference of situations; with the difference, too, between Englishmen and Frenchmen, which is always considerable; and then with the difference between believers in Jesus Christ, and believers in Jean Jacques, which is still more considerable."*

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF THE PURITANS DURING THE COMMONWEALTH.

IMMEDIATELY after the death of the King, the ancient monarchy of England, and all the institutions dependent on it, were abolished. Two-thirds of the members of Parliament were expelled by Cromwell from the House of Commons; the House of Lords was declared useless, and

* Carlyle's *Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, vol. i. p. 289. In the same volume (p. 337) Mr. Carlyle inserts from *Some's Tracts*, vii. 499-501, "a faithful memorial of that remarkable meeting of many officers of the army in England, at Windsor Castle, in the year 1648," on which he makes these characteristic remarks: "In which, however, if he (the reader) will look till it become credible and intelligent to him, a strange thing, most elucidative of the heart of this matter, will disclose itself. . . . (They meet to pray.) Entirely amazing to us. These are the longest heads and strongest hearts in England, and this is the thing they are doing; this is the way they, for their part, begin dispatch of business. The reader, if he is an earnest man, may look at it with very many thoughts, for which there is no word at present. Abyases, black chaotic whirlwinds;—does the reader look upon it all as madness? Madness lies close by; as madness does to the highest wisdom in man's life always: but this is not mad! This dark element, it is the mother of the lightnings and the splendours; it is very sure this!"—P. 336, 341.

the office of a King unnecessary and dangerous. England was declared to be A FREE COMMONWEALTH ; a Council of State, appointed for a year, assumed all the functions of government, and an "Engagement" to be faithful to the new government was substituted for the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. A high court of justice condemned to death three noblemen, the Duke of Hamilton, the Earl of Holland, and Lord Capel, who had been active in the King's service in the late war, and they were beheaded in the Palace Yard, Westminster.

These changes did not take place without strong remonstrances. The Episcopalian and Presbyterian clergy refused to take "the engagement;" and they joined the Scots in making the best terms they could with Charles II. The Presbyterian church government was declared to be the established religion, but all penal laws against Nonconformists were abolished. All persons were required to attend some place of worship; while the severest ordinances were published against profanity, vice, blasphemy, and maintaining monstrous opinions tending to the dissolution of society, and especially, against trading, travelling, or frequenting of taverns, on the Sabbath.

Remonstrances against the Commonwealth.

The liturgy of the Church of England continued to be forbidden; but its peaceful use was connived at, until those who used it were detected in opposing the Government; and many of the Episcopal clergy, being allowed to use prayers as nearly like the liturgy as they chose, took "the Engagement."

The reproach of the Commonwealth, in the eyes of many of the Puritans, not less than of the enemies of the Puritans, was the toleration allowed to all religious parties; yet this toleration was very far from being complete. The Catholics, especially priests and Jesuits, were hotly pursued. The prelates and the Episcopal clergy were, indeed, provided for out of the sales of lands formerly belonging to bishops and chapters of cathedrals, and one-fifth of the tithes and church livings; but their religious profession was so intimately connected with their attachment to monarchy, and with their dread or hatred of republicans and sectaries, that they were involved in heavy sufferings, imputed (as in the case of the Catholics, and of the Puri-

Imperfect toleration.

BOOK III. tans in the reign of Elizabeth) to their *political*, rather than
CHAP. III. to their *religious*, offences.

The Presbyterians were much in the same predicament. Their attachment to the Covenant,—their dread of toleration,—their hatred of the present Government,—their hope of accomplishing their object by agreement with Charles II., who had taken the Covenant, and was crowned in Scotland, led them to those correspondences with the King and his party, which brought upon them the severest displeasure of the new Government.

Mr. Christopher Love

The most remarkable or best known example of this class of persons, was MR. CHRISTOPHER LOVE. He was a native of Cardiff, in Glamorganshire. With much difficulty he had been able to spend some time at New Hall, Oxford, under the tuition of Mr. Rogers, a “noted Puritan.” For refusing to subscribe Laud’s canons, he was driven from the University, and became domestic chaplain to the sheriff of London; but was unable to obtain a settlement as a minister either in England or in Scotland.

For a short time we find him at Newcastle, preaching in prison, first through the gratings, and afterwards within the walls, to large companies. Again we trace him as the preacher to the Parliament’s garrison at Windsor. When the Presbyterian system was established in London he received Presbyterian ordination, and, in the following year, preached before the Commissioners assembled to treat with the King at Uxbridge: where, says Fuller, “he gave great offence to the Royalists in his sermon; showing the impossibility of an agreement, such were the dangerous errors and malicious practices of the opposite party. Many condemned his want of charity, more of discretion, in this juncture of time, when there should be a cessation of invectives for the time being. But men’s censures must fall the more lightly on his memory, because, since, he hath suffered, and so satisfied here for his faults in this or any other kind.”*

Mr. Love was a member of the Westminster Assembly; and his name, as minister of St. Anne’s, Aldersgate Street, is attached to a “Vindication of the Ministers of the Gospel in and about London from the unjust aspersion cast upon

* Church History, b. xi. pp. 61—65.

their former actings for the Parliament, as if they had promoted the bringing of the King to capital punishment; with a short exhortation to their people to keep close to their Covenant engagement.”* BOOK III.
CHAP. III.

On the 20th of June 1651, Mr. Love was indicted before the High Court of Justice as a traitor, for holding criminal communications with King Charles II., and the Scots. During his trial, which lasted six days, he enjoyed the assistance of the eminent Matthew Hale, as counsel; and, in his own defence, he acknowledged that he was guilty of concealing the fact that letters between conspirators against the new Government were read in his house; but he warmly approved of the end aimed at by the conspirators, casting himself on the mercy of the Court, and promising if they would spare him, to live a quiet and peaceable life for the future. Indicted as a
traitor.

He was condemned, along with a gentleman whose name was Gibbons, to lose his head. He was accompanied to the scaffold by three eminent Presbyterian divines, Dr. Thomas Manton, Mr. Edmund Calamy, and Mr. Simeon Ashe. In his speech before his execution, he boldly avowed his “cleaving to all those oaths, vows, covenants, and protestations, which were imposed by the two Houses of Parliament,” and his judgment against “the Engagement.” He expressed his peaceful confidence in God, and his assured hope of heaven. After offering a fervent prayer, he said to Mr. Ashe, just before he laid his head upon the block,—“I bless God, sir, I am as full of joy and comfort as ever my heart can hold. Blessed be God for Jesus Christ.” Condemned
and exe-
cuted.

He was buried in the chancel of his own church, St. Lawrence, Jewry; and his funeral sermon was preached in the same church by Dr. Manton, though the Government was displeased, and the soldiers threatened to shoot him.

In his sermon, Dr. Manton speaks of Mr. Love as “a man eminent in grace, of a singular life and conversation, and a pattern of piety, most worthy of imitation.” From several publications of Mr. Love, or of others respecting him, we learn that many petitions, from himself, from his wife, from more than fifty ministers, and from sundry His charac-
ter.

BOOK III.
CHAP. III.

parishes in London, were presented in his behalf to Parliament. Whitelocke says that Cromwell, at that time in Scotland, declined to interfere in the business ; while Kennett and Eachard, Episcopal historians, both say that he sent a letter, recommending him to mercy, which was intercepted and destroyed by persons belonging to the late King's army, "Which could be proved," Mr. Carlyle says, "if time and paper were of no value, to be, like a hundred other very wooden *myths* of the same period, without truth."* Some letters of great value, for their piety and tenderness, are printed in the appendix to one of his publications.†

Mr. John
Biddle.

An instance of the fierceness with which "heretical doctrines" were then assailed by all parties, occurs in the case of MR. JOHN BIDDLE. Mr. Biddle was accused of heresy, and committed to jail, at Gloucester, where he was master of a free school, in 1645, but he was set free, on the bail of a respectable inhabitant of that city.‡ After enjoying his freedom about six months, he was examined by a committee, and put into confinement, and a book which he published was burned by the common hangman. He was, at one time, very near losing his life for his heretical opinions, under the act of the Commonwealth against blasphemers and heretics. He appears to have suffered imprisonment, with occasional glimpses of freedom, for about seven years ; and, in 1655, he was saved from death, set at liberty, and supported by Cromwell. He at last died in prison, after the Restoration.§

* Cromwell's Letters, vol. ii. p. 331.

† "Grace: the Truth, and Growth, and Different Degrees thereof; being the sum and substance of Sixteen Sermons." To which are added seven letters to and from him while in prison, with a sketch of his life and his productions. 12mo, London, 1810. For the account of Love, see also Sylvester's Life of Baxter. State Trials, vol. v. Thurlow's State Papers, vol. i. p. 65.

‡ Ath. Oxon.

§ For the particulars respecting Biddle, see his Life, prefixed to his "Apostolical and True Opinions respecting the Holy Trinity," revised and asserted. London, 1691 ; and Toulmin's Review of the Life, Character, and Writings of the Rev. John Biddle. London, 1791.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PURITANS UNDER THE PROTECTORATE OF CROMWELL.

THE Protectorate of Cromwell led to the dissolution of the remnant, or "*Rump*," of the Long Parliament, and to the calling of the Little Parliament, or Barebone's Parliament. Under this government there was, strictly speaking, no established church. The Roman Catholics were still proscribed. Not a few of the Episcopal clergy, as Archbishop Usher, Bishop Brownrigge, Dr. Hall, Dr. Wilde, and others, whom both the Covenant and the Engagement had silenced, resumed their public ministry. The Presbyterians were allowed to carry out their system. The Independents joined the Presbyterians and the Baptists, in the commission of *Tryers*. Cromwell even contemplated offering religious freedom to the Jews.

BOOK III
CHAP. IV.

Toleration
under Crom-
well.

As the Presbyterian doctrines and discipline prevailed in the Westminster Assembly, the Independents moved the Protector for permission to hold a meeting for drawing up and publishing a confession of their faith. Though Oliver Cromwell gave a reluctant assent to this petition, the assembly was not held till after his death.

Some remarkable persons, connected with the Puritans, closed their lives under the government of Cromwell, or soon after. A review of their leading principles and actions, as illustrating the religious history of the Protectorate, may be gathered from the historical and biographical writings relating to these times.

MR. JEREMIAH WHITTAKER, a native of Wakefield, and a student of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, had become the minister of Stretton in Rutlandshire. After his appointment as one of the Westminster Assembly, we find him mentioned as the minister of St. Mary Magdalene's Church, Bermondsey, and a morning lecturer in the Abbey Church, Westminster. He declined taking the Engagement to the government of the Commonwealth. Mr. Samuel Clarke gives

Mr. Jeremiah
Whittaker.

BOOK III. a minute account of the particulars of his life, and of his extreme sufferings and eminent consolation in his last illness.*
 CHAP IV. Mr. Brook has printed, from Sloane's MSS. in the British Museum, a copy of a letter of Mr. Whittaker, on his bed of suffering, "to His Highness the Lord Protector," in which he gives him thanks for taking away the Engagement; urges him to appoint justices who will be vigilant in suppressing Sabbath-breaking and other vices; to pay the poor creditors of the State who were languishing in poverty and in prison; he petitions his favour on behalf of Mr. Cawton, a minister who had been compelled to leave the country to escape the fate of Love, in whose business he had been involved; and he prays the God of glory to help Cromwell to lay such foundations in common equity and righteousness, that he may leave the nation when he dies in a better condition than that in which he found it, so that he may give up his account with joy.†

Dr. Samuel
Bolton.

The memory of DR. SAMUEL BOLTON is in like manner preserved by Clarke, and by Dr. Calamy, who preached his funeral sermon. He appears to be mentioned by Whitlock‡ as attending the Earl of Holland at his execution, at the beginning of the Commonwealth. He is described as a benevolent man, an orthodox believer, an experienced and exemplary Christian, and a learned and able expounder of the Scriptures. After a long and painful illness, which he bore with patient cheerfulness,—calling the symptoms of dissolution the little crevices through which his soul peeped,—he died at the age of forty-eight, in the year 1654.§

Mr. Richard
Vines.

MR. RICHARD VINES is mentioned by Baxter as one of about thirty worthy ministers, whom he had in his congregation when he preached at Warwick, after the battle of Edge-hill. Of these ministers he says, that they had fled to that city from soldiers and from popular fury, as he had done himself, though they never meddled in the wars.

He preached the funeral sermon for the Earl of Essex, in

* Clarke's *Lives of Ten Eminent Divines*—London, 1662. Ashe's *Funeral Sermon for Whittaker*, with Calamy's Epistle prefixed. Fuller's *Church History*, b. xi. Christian Magazine. vol. vi. No. 62, p. 95. There is an interesting account of Whittaker in Reid's *Memoirs*, vol. ii. pp. 216—247. (Paisley, 1815.)

† *Lives of the Puritans*, vol. iii. pp. 194, 196.

‡ *Memorials of English Affairs*, p. 387.

§ Clarke's *Lives of Eminent Persons*. Brook's *Lives of the Puritans*, vol. iii.

1646. We find him with Mr. Marshall and others on the commission from the Parliament to Charles the First, in the Isle of Wight. BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

Among those who lost their places in the universities for refusing the Engagement, Mr. Vines was required to give up the mastership of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. He had been a prominent member of the Westminster Assembly ; and he is referred to both by Baillie and by Baxter, in a way which proves that he was a man of shining abilities, of a noble character, uniting decided views in favour of Presbyterianism, generally, with an anxious desire to see a union of moderate men of all parties in the English Church.* Dr. Zachary Grey, who calls Mr. Vines "one of the best of them," has quoted from Carte's "Irish Massacre set in a True Light," in which Mr. Vines is mentioned as "a very celebrated man among the Presbyterians in the time of the rebellion; and in the same passage, Mr. Vines is said to have had much conversation with King Charles I., and to have reported that he found him "a very precious prince, able of himself to argue with the ablest divines we have."† He is mentioned as one of the Puritan clergy, whose services the King rejected as he was going to the scaffold. He appears to have occupied several pulpits, successively, in those changing times. We trace him at Weddington, Caldecot, and Nuneaton, in Warwickshire ; at St. Clement, Danes ; at Walton, in Hertfordshire ; at St. Lawrence, Jewry ; and, as a weekly lecturer, at St. Michael's, Cornhill. In his funeral sermon, preached in his church of St. Lawrence, Dr. Thomas Jacomb celebrates him as rising far above his contemporaries, in ability, learning, piety, laboriousness, and courage. His character.

MR. THOMAS GATAKER, son of a Puritan clergyman bearing the same name, was a man of most profound, exact, and extensive erudition, a firm Calvinist, the dreaded assailant of astrologers, who were mighty people in that day; and, on the disputed points in church government, not violent on any side. Witsius says that his celebrity is such, that none but the most utter strangers to the literature of Europe can be ignorant of it ; and he yields to him the palm of Mr. Thomas Gataker.

* Baillie's Letters, vol. ii. iii. Sylvester's Life of Baxter, p. 62, 64, 147.

† Grey's Examination of Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. ii. p. 414.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

His moderation.

superior acquaintance with the antiquities of the Greek learning, from the rich stores of which he illustrated the grandeur and the fulness of the Holy Scriptures.* Though a member of the Westminster Assembly, we do not find that he took a prominent part. Baillie mentions him but once, and then as among "the ablest men," who differed from the majority in their views of the divine right of the office of ruling elders.† In one of Mr. Gataker's own publications against the astrologers, he vindicates himself and other ministers from the accusations of Lilly the astrologer; and, in the course of this vindication, he shows that he leaned to a moderate episcopacy; that for the sake of usefulness, he had submitted to the bishops, without approving of their pomp; and that from the same motive, he likewise submitted to the government which overturned them, without accepting preferment in the church from either the one party or the other. Amid many changes around, he continued his ministry in the parish church at Rotherhithe, from an early part of the reign of King James I., till nearly the end of the life of Cromwell.‡ The reader who is interested in such biographies, will find ample materials in Mr. Brook's Lives of the Puritans, and in Reid's Memoirs of the Westminster Divines.

Religious principles of Cromwell.

The *religious* principles and character of the PROTECTOR himself have been discussed by men of all parties. His relation to the Puritans began in early life. Born at a period when Whitgift was driving the Puritans to the utmost extremity, his boyhood and youth at Huntingdon and at Cambridge were spent amid the deep purposes and burning thoughts of grave neighbours, who felt that they were oppressed by man because they maintained a conscience towards God. He had risen into manhood at the accession of Charles I. While yet a youth, and steady in the fulfilment of domestic duties, he underwent some mysterious exercises of mind, which have given occasion to not a few blundering and superficial opinions, but which were evidently the working of spiritual convictions in a mind of extraordinary capacity, and darkly troubling his

* Thomæ Gatakesi Opera Critica. Preface. 1698

† Ibid. vol. ii. p. 110.

‡ A Discourse Apologetical; wherein Lilly's lies, in his Meshing, or Pasquil, for 1654 are laid open.

whole system. From a letter written by him several years after, it has been harshly inferred that his early course of life had been vicious; and his enemies have not been sparing in the use which they have made of expressions in this letter. The Christian reader will, probably, find another explanation of his words. Addressing his cousin, Mrs. St. John, he says:—"You know what my manner of life hath been. Oh! I lived in and loved darkness and hated light; I was a chief, the chief of sinners. This is true; I hated godliness, yet God had mercy on me. O the riches of His mercy! Praise Him for me; pray for me, that He who hath begun a good work in me, would perform it in the day of Christ."*

More than five years before this letter was written, Cromwell was actively engaged in promoting, in his own county, the lectures which have been mentioned as put down by Laud. He was one of a band of patriots who were prevented by the tyranny of government from seeking a home for their freedom and their religion in New England. In the Long Parliament, where he sat for the town of Cambridge, he took the popular side, as the associate of Pym, Hampden, Selden, and other illustrious men. When the civil war broke out, he raised a troop of horse, and secured the town of Cambridge for the Parliament. He broke the power of the King at Marston Moor. By new-modelling the army, he gained the complete victory over Charles at Naseby, and acquired so much influence among the soldiers as to overawe the Parliament, and destroy the King. By his subjugation of Ireland and of the royalist party in Scotland, followed by the defeat of Charles II. at Worcester, and the triumphs gained in the Dutch war, as well as by the height of prosperity and glory to which his counsels helped to raise his country, he raised himself to the highest place in the new Commonwealth, and enjoyed the substance without the forms of sovereignty. In this high position he sustained the majesty of England before foreign nations, in a style which had never been equalled by any of the legitimate monarchs. His court was the purest that had ever been known in Europe. The

Commencement of his public life.

* This letter is quoted by Harria, and given at length by Carlyle, from Thurloe's State Papers.

BOOK III.

CHAP. IV.

administration of justice, under his Protectorate, has been praised by men of all parties. His enemies have celebrated his encouragement of science and learning. While he sternly repressed the attempts of all religious parties to "overtop the civil power, or deface it if they please,"* he advocated and practised liberty of conscience to an extent unparalleled by any former government. While he declared himself an Independent, he protected Catholics, in many instances, from popular hatred; and he treated as many of the Episcopalians as would allow him with respect; and several Presbyterian clergymen,—Manton, Baxter, Calamy,—officiated in his court, or enjoyed his confidence *in private*.†

His sincerity.

The personal religion of this extraordinary man, it is believed, was sincere. His most ardent admirers find it difficult to show the consistency of every part of his life, to justify every part of his conduct, to free him from the charges of ambition, impetuosity, waywardness, cunning, and military despotism; but yet, the more thoroughly his character is studied by impartial and religious men, the more difficult and rare will be the attempt to fasten on his memory the accusation of hypocrisy. "Some writers," says Dr. Lingard, "have maintained that Cromwell dissembled in religion as well as in politics, and that when he condescended to act the part of the saint, he assumed for interested purposes a character which he otherwise despised. But this supposition is contradicted by the uniform tenor of his life. Long before he turned his attention to the disputes between the King and the Parliament, religious enthusiasm had made a deep impression on his mind; it continually manifested itself during his long career both in the senate and the field; and it was strikingly displayed in his speeches and prayers on the last evening of his life."‡

* Letter to the Governor of Edinburgh Castle, Sept. 9, 1650. Copied from Thurloc's State Papers, by Mr. Carlyle, letter 134, vol. ii. p. 232.

† Ludlow's Memoirs, Sylvester's Life of Baxter. Whitelock's Memoirs. Thurloc's State Papers, vol. i-iv.

‡ Lingard's Hist. of England, vol. xi. p. 131.

SECTION I.—THE SECTS.

WE have seen that toleration, even under the Commonwealth and the Protectorate, was imperfect, both in law and in practice. All those who were not Presbyterians, were by them called sectaries. Of these sectaries, some were Independents and Baptists, who occupied places of trust in Parliament, in the army, and not a few of them were heads of colleges, members of the Committee of Triers for examining the clergy, and occupants of livings in the church. The Baptists (or Anabaptists, as their enemies styled them) were scattered among other sects, differing from each other on many points of doctrine, though united in the rejection of infant baptism, and in their restriction of that rite to the immersion of believers.

BOOK III.

CHAP IV.

Many of the Baptists, as well as other Nonconformists, had suffered martyrdom under successive reigns, and not a few of them had left the other separatists, differing from them in theological doctrines, as well as in their views respecting baptism.

Baptists.

The first pastor of a separate baptist church of which we find record, was MR. JOHN SMYTH, who was succeeded at Amsterdam, by Mr. Thomas Helwise. Mr. Helwise, accompanied by other English refugees, believing that it was their duty to bear their testimony to the truth in their own country, returned to England, where they maintained their fellowship as a church, in the midst of much obloquy and persecution, and greatly increased in numbers.* The same spirit induced many of the Baptists to remain in England, when numbers of their own persuasion accompanied other Puritans to America. As early as the year 1615, a small treatise, ascribed to Mr. Helwise, appeared in the name of the "Christ's unworthy witnesses, his Majesty's faithful subjects, commonly (but most falsely), called Anabaptists." The title of this treatise was "Persecution Judged and Condemned, &c." Its main object was to prove that *no man ought to be persecuted for his religion so long as he testified his allegiance.*

Mr. John Smyth.

* Crosby's History of the Baptists, vol. i. pp. 271, 272.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV

Four years before the appearance of this treatise, the Baptists had published a Confession ; and, indeed, many works more or less public, had been circulated by them, in vindication of their principles. In 1620, they addressed an able and elaborate letter to James I., which, together with the above-mentioned pamphlet, was republished in 1662. From the "Supplication," it appears that they had suffered imprisonment for many years, "in divers counties in England." From other documents published about the same time, it is thought probable that the Baptists of that age were for the most part general Baptists, that is, not holding the Calvinian doctrine of particular redemption.*

First Baptist
church in
England.

The earliest distinct record of a separate Baptist church in England, according to Crosby, (with whom, however, Mr. Ivimey does not agree,) consisted of twenty men and women, with divers others, who retired from the first Independent church, gathered by Mr. Jacob, during the ministry of Mr. Jacob's successor, Mr. John Lathrop. This separation took place, with the consent of the mother church, in the year 1633. Their minister was Mr. John Spilsbury. Six years after, another Baptist congregation was formed at Crutched Friars, consisting of another portion of the same first Independent church, in which Mr. Henry Jessey had, about a year before, succeeded Mr. Lathrop. Soon after, Mr. Jessey himself became a Baptist. Notwithstanding this change in his sentiments, he maintained the same Christian love and charity for good men of all denominations. As a proof of this, he had always Pædobaptists in his church, whom he admitted to communion. He could not think that any particular sentiments concerning baptism should be the boundary of church fellowship ; and took great pains to promote a like catholic spirit in others. Mr. Jessey divided his labours in the ministry according to the catholicism of his principles. Every Lord's day he was among his own people. In the morning he usually preached at St. George's Church, Southwark, where he appears to have been rector.†

In 1640, Mr. Jessey's congregation being too numerous to meet in one place without being discovered, divided, by

* Crosby, vol. i. p. 133. There is a tradition that the general Baptist church at Canterbury existed in the reign of Edward VI., and that *Joan Boucher* was a member of it. Ivimey's History of English Baptists, vol. i. p. 138.

† Wilson's History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches, vol. i. p. 44

mutual consent—one half remaining with Mr. Jessey, and the other half with Mr. Barebone, who was the successor of Mr. Stephen More, as pastor of a Baptist church meeting in Fleet Street. Mr. Barebone's name was given to Cromwell's little Parliament, of which he was a member, but when that Parliament was dissolved he disappears from the stage of history until the time of the Restoration. It is probable that he imbibed in a high degree both the religious and political enthusiasm of the age.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

The Baptists had suffered much persecution during the Commonwealth. One of their number, Mr Roger Williams, is represented by the historian of the Baptists in America, as the first governor who proclaimed and practised liberty of conscience.*

Persecution
of the Bap-
tists.

There appeared to have been some Baptists in the army of Cromwell who entertained republican opinions. Though some divines of this persuasion were on the committee of Triers, the Baptists in the army were decidedly adverse to Cromwell's government, and followed Harrison as their leader. The great body of their churches, however, in England, Wales, and Ireland, peaceably submitted to the existing government, and enjoyed the esteem and protection of the existing ruler.†

The Quakers met with severer treatment during the Commonwealth, and under the Protectorate, than any other sect of Christians. We trace them somewhat obscurely under the denomination of *Seekers*, their distinguishing principle being the doctrine of an inward light. The acknowledged founder of the Society of Friends was GEORGE FOX. He was the son of Christopher Fox, a weaver by trade, an honest man, and of such a virtuous life, that his neighbours were used to call him "Righteous Christer."‡ George attracted attention in his youth, by his grave and retiring habits, his temperance, industry, and unflinching adherence to truth. Through a succession of religious experiences, he arrived at those convictions which he believed he was called by God to propagate.

The Quakers.

George Fox.

He travelled, while yet a young man, through parts of

* Barker's History of the American Baptists, quoted in Ivimey's History of the English Baptists, vol. i. p. 219.

† See Crosby's and Ivimey's History of the Baptists.

‡ Sewel's History of the people called Quakers, vol. i. p. 11.

BOOK III. Leicestershire, Derbyshire, and the northern counties, testifying in "steeple-houses," and in other places, against the superstitions of the times, exciting much attention, gaining many converts, and suffering grievous persecutions.

CHAP. IV

His sufferings.

In 1650 he was committed to the House of Correction at Derby, as a blasphemer, for preaching his doctrines. One of the justices who committed him, an Independent, hearing that Fox "bade him and those about him *tremble* at the word of the Lord, took hold of this weighty saying with such an airy mind, that from thence he took occasion to call him and his friends, scornfully, QUAKERS. This new and unusual denomination was taken up so eagerly, and spread so among the people, that not only the priests there, from that time gave no other name to the professors of the light, but sounded it so gladly abroad, that it soon ran over all England, and, making no stand there, it quickly reached to the neighbouring countries, and adjacent kingdoms, inso-much that the said professors of the Light, for distinction's sake from other religious societies, have been called everywhere by that English name, which, sounding very odd in the ears of some foreign nations, hath also given occasion to many silly stories."*

Letters from prison.

While Fox lay in prison at Derby, he addressed letters to the priests, to the magistrates, to the justices who had committed him, both jointly and separately; to the Mayor of Derby, and to the bell-ringers of St. Peter's "steeple-house." All these letters are written with much Scriptural simplicity and faithfulness, and breathe a meek, affectionate spirit. His jailor was so impressed with his language and behaviour, that he told the justices his house had been plagued for George Fox's sake. The justices wished to get rid of him by giving him liberty to walk a mile, hoping he would escape, but he gave them to understand that "he had no mind to get his liberty that way." He employed himself in writing various letters and addresses, which were dispersed abroad, and he so far availed himself of his liberty to walk out, that he visited the prisoners, and preached repentance to the people in the streets and in the market-place. Some of his relations and friends offered their bonds for large sums of money that he should no more come thither to de-

clare against the priests, but he would not consent to this, "believing himself to be innocent from any ill behaviour."

BOOK III
CILAP. IV.

Before the term of his imprisonment expired, he was committed "to the dungeon, amongst rogues and felons," for declining to take a commission in the army. After a year's imprisonment, he travelled through parts of Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Yorkshire, Westmoreland, Cumberland and Lancashire, preaching with various success, and amidst every form of opposition. By this time, not fewer than sixty ministers were raised up to preach the same doctrines in several parts of England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland. One of these preachers, Francis Howgill, an eloquent and eminent man, went to court, where he uttered what was in his mind to Cromwell. In 1650, Fox himself was brought into the presence of the Protector. Before the interview, Fox was told that the Protector required him to promise that he would not take up any carnal sword against him or the government as it then was; and to send the promise in writing with his signature. In compliance with this requirement, he sent up a paper declaring that he denied the wearing or drawing of a carnal sword, or any outward weapon against him, or any man.

Increase of
the Quakers

Early on the following morning, before the Protector was dressed, Fox was conducted to Whitehall. As he came in, he said, "Peace be in this house." After much discourse concerning religion, in which Cromwell often said in response to the sentiments of Fox, "It is very good," "It is truth," the Protector took the Quaker preacher by the hand, and with tears in his eyes, said, "Come again to my house; for if thou and I were but an hour of a day together, we should be nearer to one another." Fox was then brought into a great hall, where the Protector's gentlemen were to dine. He asked, What did they bring him thither for? They told him it was by the Protector's orders, that he might dine with them. But George bid them tell the Protector he would not eat a bit of his bread, nor drink a sup of his drink. When Cromwell heard this, he said, "Now I see there is a people risen and come up that I cannot win either with gifts, honours, offices, or places; but all other sects and people I can."*

Fox's inter-
view with
Cromwell.

BOOK III. This was not the last interview of Fox with Cromwell.

CHAP. IV. In 1656, Fox, riding near Hyde Park, saw the Protector coming in his coach. He rode up to the side of the coach.

Dissuasive
from assum-
ing the
crown.

Some of the life-guards would have prevented him, but the Protector permitted him to ride by his side, and listened to his tales of the suffering Friends, and his remonstrances against persecution. When they parted, the Protector desired Fox to visit him. Fox afterwards wrote to Cromwell, dissuading him from assuming the crown. Here is the letter :—

O PROTECTOR,

Who hast tasted of the power of God, which many generations before thee have not so much, since the days of apostacy from the apostles,—take heed that thou lose not thy power, but keep kingship off thy head, which the world would give thee, and earthly crowns under thy feet, lest with that thou cover thyself, and so lose the power of God. When the children of Israel went from that of God in them, they would have kings, as other nations had, as transgressors had, and so God gave them one; and what did they do then? And when they would have taken Christ, and made him a king, he hid himself from them; he was hid from that which would have made him a king, he who was king of the Jews in word. O Oliver, take heed of undoing thyself, by running into things that will fade—the things of this world that will change. Be subject and obedient to the Lord God.

GEORGE FOX.

A short time before Cromwell's death, Fox went to Hampton Court, to speak to him once more about the sufferings of the Friends. He met the Protector riding in the Park, and, after solemnly warning him, he was invited to come to him at his house. When he came, Cromwell was in his last sickness, so Fox "passed away, and never saw Oliver Cromwell any more."

Through a ministry of forty-four years, George Fox maintained a character of blameless integrity, purity, and benevolence. He was often in prison for his boldness in pursuing what he regarded as his heavenly calling; and suffered at Derby, Carlisle, Launceston, Leicester, Lancaster, and Scar-

borough. He laboured not only in England, Wales, and Scotland, but in America, Germany, and Holland ; and he pleaded the cause of his suffering brethren with the kings of France and Spain, with the Emperor, and even with the Pope. He preached at "Gracious Street meeting-house" two days before his death, which occurred in 1691.*

BOOK III.
CHAP IV.

JAMES NAYLOR is mentioned by Baxter, in his very partial account of the Quakers, as "their chief leader." He certainly was not so considered by that people themselves. He appears to have been a man of great eloquence, of a lively imagination, without much judgment. He permitted himself to be led in a triumphant style through a suburb of the city of Bristol, preceded by a man bareheaded, while a woman led his horse, and other women spread their scarfs and handkerchiefs before him, singing, "Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord God of Hosts ! Hosannah in the highest ! Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord God of Israel."

James Naylor.

"Thus these mad people," says the Quaker historian, "sung, while they were walking through the mire and dirt, till they came into Bristol, where they were examined by the magistrates, and committed to prison ; and not long after he was carried to London, to be examined by the Parliament.†"

For eleven days a committee of Parliament was occupied with this "foolish business." Petitions on his behalf were presented by persons of different persuasions, to the Parliament, and to the Protector ; and a merchant, named Robert Rich, addressed a pamphlet to the Parliament, proving that Naylor's offence could not be construed into blasphemy. Notwithstanding, the Parliament condemned the wretched man to be pilloried in Westminster and in London ; to be whipped by the hangman from Palace Yard to the old Exchange ; to have his forehead branded ; to have his tongue bored through with a hot iron ; then to ride through Bristol on horseback, with his face backward, and to be publicly whipped in the market-place ; and, after all, to be imprisoned, with hard labour, during the pleasure of Parliament, without pen, ink, paper, society, or even food, but by the earnings of his daily labour. Cromwell was at first unwil-

Parliamentary investigation.

* George Fox's Journal, 1694. Collection's Piety Promoted, 1703. Sewel's Hist. 2 vols., 1795. Penn's Brief Account, 1694.

† Sewel, vol. i. p. 257.

BOOK III. ling to sanction this sentence ; and after it had been partly
 CHAP. IV. inflicted, he wrote a letter to the Parliament which occasioned some debate. "The full sentence was executed, in the presence of many thousands. When he was burning, the people both before and behind him, and on both sides, *with one consent stood bareheaded.*" *

SECTION III.—THE SEQUESTERED CLERGY.

Deprived
Episcopal
clergy.

An historian of the Puritans in England would, in the present day, be justly chargeable with criminal partiality, if he should omit to lay before his readers some account of the Episcopal clergy who were deprived of their livings by the Parliament, during the ascendancy of the Puritans. There are names among them which posterity has delighted to honour for all those qualities which win the esteem of the wise and good.

Jeremy
Taylor.

JEREMY TAYLOR was born at Cambridge, in 1613. He was a lineal descendant of Rowland Taylor, the Protestant martyr. At the early age of thirteen he became a sizar in Caius College, Cambridge. When not more than twenty he preached with great acceptance at St. Paul's, and obtained the notice of Laud, who had then recently become Archbishop of Canterbury. The Archbishop had but one objection to the young preacher—his youth ; which fault Taylor slyly promised to amend, if he lived ! Under the Archbishop's patronage he was placed at All-Soul's College, Oxford. The Archbishop also made him one of his chaplains ; and in the course of a few years, he was presented by Bishop Juxon to the rectory of Uppingham, in Rutlandshire. When the civil war broke out, Taylor joined the King at Oxford ; and he published his work on Episcopacy by his Majesty's command. Of his rectory he was deprived by the Presbyterian party. It is probable that he continued with the royal army as a chaplain. He appears to have been taken prisoner by the Parliamentary forces near Cardigan Castle. In the opening of the dedication of his "Discourse of the Liberty of Prophesying," to Lord Hatton, he paints this part of his history with his own beautiful colouring of poetical imagery :—

"In this great storm, which hath dashed the vessel of the church all in pieces, I have been cast upon the coast of Wales, and in a little boat, thought to have enjoyed that rest and quietness which in England, in a greater, I could not hope for. Here I cast anchor, and thinking to ride safely, the storm followed me with such impetuous violence, that it broke a cable, and I lost my anchor ; and here again I was exposed to the mercy of the seas, and the gentleness of an element that could neither distinguish things nor persons. And but that He who 'stilleth the raging of the sea, and the noise of his waves, and the madness of the people,' had provided a plank for me, I had been lost to all the opportunities of content or study. But I know not whether I have been more preserved by the courtesies of my friends, or the gentleness and mercies of a noble enemy."

After his release from prison, we find him keeping a school, along with William Nicholson, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester, and William Wyatt, afterwards a prebendary of Lincoln, at Newton Hall, in the parish of Llanfihangel, where, we presume, he composed the celebrated "Discourse," which has been mentioned. During this period, also, many of his other well-known works were published, and his correspondence shows that he enjoyed the protection of Lord Hatton, and of the Earl of Carberry, and the friendship of Evelyn ; and also that he had easy and pleasant intercourse with Berkeley, Boyle, and Wilkins. That he occasionally suffered from the existing government is sufficiently evident from his being both in Chepstow Castle, and in the Tower ; but his imprisonments were slight and brief ; for, through the influence of noble friends, he obtained a passport and protection from Cromwell to retire to Ireland, on the princely estate of the Earl of Conway. From Ireland he repaired to London, in time to receive from Charles II. the bishopric of Down and Connor, the duties of which see he discharged with mildness and dignity till August 1667, when he was carried off by a rapid fever, in the fifty-ninth year of his age.

Taylor's
early
friends.

Of a man whose learning was so great, and whose fancy was so bright and active, it can be no libel to say that his reasoning faculty, though vigorous in itself, was oppressed by the one, and misguided by the other. He was a "lover of the picturesque" in religion, so much so as to have la-

BOOK III. boured all his life under an unfounded suspicion of a
 CHAP IV. leaning towards Popery. His gentle spirit showed itself in the almost singular sweetness with which he could conduct a controversy, and in the peculiar ground which he took in pleading for toleration. His portrait shows the man ; his "gentle melancholy, the half-ascetic turn of his mind, and his love of contemplation."*

Bishop Hall. BISHOP HALL "had such *hard measure* as that the bare reading the narrative of it that he hath left behind him, is enough to make any one melancholy that has the least sense either of humanity or Christianity in him."†

This venerable bishop has long been a favourite author with Christians of all denominations. His "Contemplations of the Historical Passages of the Old and New Testament" are very charming—sparkling with antitheses, happy allusions, and ingenious practical reflections, and breathing the poetic spirit which had animated his earlier compositions in verse. His mother was a pious woman, slightly superstitious, and strongly attached to the ministry of Anthony Gilby, the Puritan pastor of Ashby-de-la-Zouch. "How often," says the good Bishop, "have I blessed the memory of those divine passages of experimental divinity which I have heard from her mouth. What day did she pass without a large task of private devotion, whence she would still come forth with a countenance of undissembled mortification! Never any lips have read to me such feeling lectures of piety, neither have I known any soul that more accurately practised them than her own."‡

Bishop Hall suffered not a little from the intolerance of Archbishop Laud, and from the swarms of spies and calumniators among the clergy of his own church. We have had occasion already to mention his controversial writings in defence of Episcopacy. On the 30th of December, 1661, he was one of the ten bishops committed to the Tower, for singing a protest against the legality of all legislative acts during the compulsory absence of the prelates from the House of Lords. For five months he remained

* See Life of Jeremy Taylor, by Bishop Heber, prefixed to his entire Works, new edition, revised by Eden, 1847. Essay on the genius and writings of Jeremy Taylor, prefixed to the imperial edition of his works.

† Dr. Calamy's Life and Times, edited by Rutt, 2d edition, 1830, vol. i. p. 43.

‡ Specialities, by Bishop Hall.

there, as in a place of safety from the fury of the populace, and preaching, in turn with the other bishops, to large audiences. In the year after his liberation, under a heavy bond, his living was sequestered, and he was likewise deprived of his personal property. His cathedral was despoiled. After these sufferings, he published his narrative, to which Dr. Calamy refers, entitled "Hard Measure." When he was forcibly ejected from his palace at Norwich, he retired to Heigham, near Norwich. On his eightieth birthday (July 1st, 1655,) he preached at Heigham, the beautiful sermon, "Life a Sojourning," in which he says :—"It hath pleased the providence of God so to contrive it that this day, this very morning fourscore years ago, I was born into the world. 'A great time since,' ye are ready to say, and so it seems to you that look at it forward ; but to me that look at it past, it seems so short, that it is gone like a tale that is told, or a dream by night, and looks like yesterday. It can be no offence for me to say that many of you who hear me this day, are not like to see so many suns walk over your heads as I have done. Yea what speak I of this ? There is not one of us that can assure himself of his continuance here one day. We are all tenants at will ; and for aught we know, may be turned out of these clay cottages at an hour's warning. Oh ! then, what should we do, but as wise farmers, who know the time of their lease is expiring, *and cannot be renewed*, carefully and seasonably provide ourselves of a surer and more during tenure." When he was too old and feeble to preach, he was a diligent hearer. "How often have we seen him walking alone, like old Jacob, with his staff, to Bethel, the house of God."* He died in his eighty-second year.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

Sermon at
Heigham.

DR. POCOCKE, the accomplished professor of Arabic at Oxford, was deprived of his professorship in 1651, for declining to take the Engagement. The committee for removing scandalous ministers afterwards summoned him before them, at Abingdon, in Berkshire, where he had a parsonage. Failing to convict him of anything scandalous, they charged him with ignorance and insufficiency ; but he was saved by the interference of Dr. John Owen, the vice-chancellor, who lamented the rashness and ignorance of the

Dr. Pococke.

BOOK III. commissioners, in seeking to disturb a man of unblameable
 CHAP. IV. conversation, and of "repute for learning throughout the
 world."*

Archbishop
 Usher.

ARCHBISHOP USHER is placed by Walker among the sufferers during the grand rebellion. His name has long been celebrated throughout Europe, as a man of singular abilities, rare learning, and exemplary piety; and it will flourish, we hope, as long as these high qualities are cherished and venerated among men. After suffering greatly from the Irish rebellion, he left that country, the land of his birth, and he received from Charles I. the bishopric of Carlisle, to be held *in commendam* with the primacy of Ireland. In 1642 we find him diligently studying and preaching at Oxford. Though he was nominated one of the Westminster Assembly, he declined the appointment; and, indeed, he spoke against its authority. His library was seized by the Parliamentary forces. When the King's affairs became desperate, Usher retired to the house of his son-in-law, Sir Timothy Tyrrel, governor of the garrison at Cardiff, in Wales. When the governor was compelled to evacuate the garrison, Usher accepted the invitation of the Lady dowager Stradling, to the Castle of St. Donat, from whence he removed to the house of the Countess of Peterborough, in London. While in London, he became preacher to the society of Lincoln's Inn. He went to the Isle of Wight, at the request of King Charles, to aid him in settling the question of Episcopacy with the Parliamentary Commissioners, and he received his Majesty's approval of his plan for uniting Episcopacy with Presbyterianism, in the government of the English Church.

From the leads of Lady Peterborough's house, in which he was then living, he witnessed the execution of his sovereign. While the King was delivering his last speech upon the scaffold, the primate stood still and sighed, raising his hands, and his eyes full of tears, to heaven in prayer. When he saw the King prepare to lay his head on the block, Usher turned pale and well-nigh swooned away. He was carried to his bed, where, for a long time he wept and prayed. Cromwell treated Archbishop Usher with much courtesy,

* Pococke's Theological Works, life prefixed, by Mr. Lenard Twells, M. A., 2 vols. folio, 1740.

but two years after his interview with the Protector, the Archbishop died at Lady Peterborough's house at Ryegate, Surry, in the seventy-sixth year of his age. The Protector ordered his body to be removed to Somerset House, and afterwards to be buried with much magnificence, and according to the forms of the English liturgy, in Westminster Abbey.*

DR. PETER HEYLIN is well known as the author of "Aerius Redivivus ; or the History of Presbyterianism." BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.
Dr. Peter Heylin

He was a prebendary of Westminster, and rector of Alresford, and South Warnborough, in Hampshire, and likewise chaplain in ordinary to Charles I. He was a devoted friend of Archbishop Laud, to whom he rendered welcome service in furnishing matter for the prosecution of Prynne, by collecting passages from his "Histrio-Mastix." At the beginning of the civil war, he was sent for from Alresford by a party of horse in the parliamentary army at Portsmouth, but he made his escape to the King at Oxford. The committee of the House of Commons, hearing of his escape, voted him a delinquent, and sequestered the profits of his prebend, and of both his rectors, and also his worldly estate. "His friends at Oxford asking him how he lived, he told them that he lived upon *horseflesh* and *old leather*, meaning his coach and horses, with which he had fled to Oxford, the only portion of his goods which he had saved, and which he was forced to sell for his subsistence. When he had eaten up these, to use his own figure, he was afterwards for some time supported by charity, sending his wife to London, amongst her own relations, to try what he could get there."†

On the death of his patron, Archbishop Laud, he compounded for his temporal estate, to which he betook himself; and he eked out a livelihood by writing books at Oxford. After this, we find him leading a wandering life, travelling through the country in disguise, and under assumed names ; at one time without a groat in his pocket, and at another entertained in the houses of royalists. Tired of roving, he settled, with his wife and children, at Winchester, in the house of one Mr. Lizard, "a right honest man." When Win-

* Dr Aikin's Lives of Selden and Usher. Collection of Usher's Letters, with his Life. by R. Parr, folio, 1686.

† Walker's Attempt, part ii. p. 90.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

chester Castle was taken by Cromwell, he escaped from the search of the soldiers, by going out on a market-day, dressed as a countryman, with a long stick in his hand. A few miles from the city, he fell in with a party of Cromwell's soldiers, who examined him ; and, feeling a ring under his glove, which in his hurry he had forgotten to take off, they swore he was some runaway cavalier. They began to rifle him ; but alarmed by the reported approach of a superior force of the King's party, they quickly left him, carrying away his ring and some money. After many removes, he lived six years at Minster Lovel, in Oxfordshire, on a farm which he held under his nephew, Colonel Henry Heylin, and where he continued his studies, and wrote several of his treatises in defence of the Church of England. He afterwards lived at Abingdon, Berkshire, five miles from Oxford, where he had easy access to the libraries of the University. In common with many royalist families, he had to bear the *decimation* of the property for which he had previously compounded. "In 1660, upon his Majesty's return to his kingdoms, he (Heylin) was restored to his spiritualities, but never rose higher than sub-dean of Westminster, which was a wonder to many, and a great discontent to him and his ; but the reason being manifest to those that well knew the temper of the person, I shall forbear," says Anthony Wood, "to make mention of that matter any farther. He was a person endowed with singular gifts, of a sharp and pregnant wit, solid and clear judgment. In his younger years he was accounted an excellent poet, but very conceited and pragmatical ; in his elder years a better historian, a noted preacher, and a ready, or extemporaneous speaker. He had a tenacious memory, to a miracle ; whereunto he added an incredible patience in study, in which he persisted, when his eyesight failed him. He died at Westminster, May 8. 1663."

Sufferings as
a royalist.

"He was a bold and undaunted man, among his friends and foes, (though of very mean port and presence) and therefore, by some of them he was accounted too high and proud for the function he professed. On all occasions he was a constant assertor of the church's right, and the King's prerogative, either in their afflicted or prosperous estate ; a severe and vigorous opponent of rebels and schismatics, a de-

spiser of envy, and in mind not at all discouraged. He writ many books upon various subjects, containing in them many things that are not vulgar, either for style or argument ; and wrote a history pleasant enough ; but in some things, he was too much a party to be an historian ; and equally an enemy to Popery and Puritanism.”*

DR. THOMAS FULLER, the writer of “The Church History of Britain,” son of the rector of Aldwinkle, St. Peter, was born there in 1608. His father was so successful in teaching him the rudiments of learning, that at the age of twelve he was placed under the charge of his uncle, Dr. Davenant, (afterwards Bishop of Salisbury) at Queen’s College, Cambridge. He joined the King at Oxford, and preached before his Majesty in St. Mary’s. Though he was as much blamed by the royalists for lukewarmness, as by the parliamentarians for his zeal in the King’s cause, he became a chaplain in the army, under Sir Ralph Hopton, but his time was employed chiefly in collecting materials for his “Worthies of England.” Sir Ralph left him at Basinghouse, the mansion of Pawlet, Marquis of Winchester, near Basingstoke, in Hampshire. When Waller besieged this celebrated house before it was destroyed by Cromwell, Dr. Fuller animated the garrison to so spirited a defence, that the parliamentary general was obliged to raise the siege, with great loss. When the course of the war drove Sir Ralph to Cornwall, where he surrendered, and then went abroad into honourable poverty, Fuller obtained leave to remain at Exeter. Here he renewed his studies, and preached to the citizens. This city was the birth-place of King Charles’s daughter, Henrietta Maria. The King appointed Fuller to be chaplain to the princess, and likewise presented him with the living of Dorchester. After the surrender of Exeter to the Parliament, in 1646, he came to London, where he became lecturer at St. Clement’s Dane, from whence he removed to the lectureship of St. Bride’s, Fleet Street. Shortly afterwards he was appointed chaplain to the Earl of Carlisle, who presented him with the perpetual curacy of Waltham Abbey. Not long before the Restoration, he was readmitted to the lectureship in the Savoy,

Dr. Thomas
Fuller.

BOOK III. and the prebend in Salisbury Cathedral which he had held
 CHAP. IV. before King Charles II. had made him chaplain extraordinary to his Majesty, and he was prevented being made a bishop only by his death in 1661. He was, as all his writings show, a man of overflowing wit; and though an Episcopalian and a royalist, he avoided the controversies of the times, and was charged by warmer partizans with Puritanism.

William
 Chillingworth.

WILLIAM CHILLINGWORTH is famous for his "Religion of Protestants a Safe Way to Salvation," in answer to a book entitled, "Mercy and Truth; or Charity maintained by Catholics," which was written to prove the contrary. This eminent writer had been seduced by Fisher, the learned Jesuit, to go to the Jesuit's College at St. Omer, where he became a Roman Catholic. He afterwards returned to the profession of Protestantism, took up his abode at Oxford, and wrote the book with which his name has ever since been connected. For this service he was rewarded with the chancellorship of the church of Salisbury, and the mastership of Wigstan's Hospital, Leicester, which he retained till his death. In the beginning of the civil war, he joined the King's party, and acted as an engineer in the garrison of Arundel Castle, Sussex. When Waller took that garrison in the name of the Parliament, Chillingworth, being ill, was removed to Chichester, and lodged in the Bishop's house, where shortly afterwards he died. The living of Petworth was held at that time by Dr. Francis Cheynel, who entertained much veneration for Chillingworth, and laboured earnestly to convert him to his own church principles. He also provided commodious lodgings for him; engaged a physician to renew his visits as his symptoms grew worse; and, after his death, procured him the rites of burial, which some would have denied him. Wood tells a story, which Walker repeats and embellishes, which is inconsistent with the foregoing account of Cheynel, given by Dr. Johnson.*

The story is this: "His body being carried into the cloister adjoining Chichester Cathedral. Cheynel stood at the grave, ready to receive it, with the author's book of 'The Religion of Protestants' in his hand, and when the

company were all settled, he spoke before them a ridiculous speech concerning the author, Chillingworth, and that book; and in conclusion, throwing the book insultingly on the corpse in the grave, said thus: 'Get thee gone, then, thou cursed book, which hast seduced so many precious souls; get thee gone, thou corrupt rotten book—earth to earth, and dust to dust; get thee gone into the place of rottenness, that thou mayest rot with thy author, and see corruption.'

After the conclusion, Cheynel went to the pulpit in the cathedral church, and preached a sermon on Luke ix. 60, 'Let the dead bury their dead,' while the malignants, (as he called them) made a shift to perform some parts of the English liturgy at his grave."

Chillingworth was a poet, an orator, a mathematician, a philosopher, and so subtle a disputant, that it was a current saying at Oxford, "that Chillingworth and Lord Lucius Falkland had such extraordinary clear reason, that if the great Turk or the devil were to be converted, they were able to do it." Wood says of him: "He was a man of little stature, but of great soul, which, if times had been serene, and life spared, might have done incomparable service to the Church of England."* Walker says: "It must not be concealed, that on his return from the Romish religion, he had a tincture of Socinianism; but, as he was a man of integrity, so his afterwards accepting of preferment in the Church of England, and subscribing to the articles of it, is an undeniable proof of his having quitted these principles."†

DR. COSIN was among the first of the Episcopal clergy sequestered by the Parliament. He suffered imprisonment many months, and paid heavy fines. It is said that he was plundered of all his property. He fled to Charenton, near Paris. In his exile, he kept up the forms of the Church of England, and exerted himself vigorously in defence of the Protestant religion. At the end of twenty years of deprivation, he was the first person that read the Common Prayer in Peterborough Cathedral, after the King's return, and in the same year he was created Bishop of Durham. He had in that see sixty-seven predecessors;

* *Athenæ, Oxon.* vol. ii. No. 43.

† *Attempt*, part ii. p. 63.

BOOK III. but he obtained the character of the most *munificent* bishop
 CHAP. IV. that had ever held it.*

Dr Henry
Hammond.

DR. HENRY HAMMOND was descended from Dr. Alexander Nowell, who has been spoken of before as Dean of St. Paul's in the reign of Elizabeth. He was one of the Episcopal clergy nominated for the Westminster Assembly, but he never obeyed the summons. He was one of King Charles's clerical assistants; and we believe the last chaplain appointed by that monarch, whom he constantly attended, until he was dismissed by the parliamentary officers. He then retired to his canonry of Christ Church, Oxford. The Committee for the reformation of the university deprived him of his office, and committed him to prison. The last few years of his life were spent in freedom and learned leisure, though in much bodily affliction, under the roof of Sir John Packington, at Westwood. He died at Westwood, aged fifty-seven; and was buried, according with the *office* of the church of England, in the chancel of the neighbouring church at Hampton. Dr. Hammond was uncle to Colonel Robert Hammond, the parliamentary governor of the Isle of Wight, who had the charge of King Charles at Carisbrook Castle. The doctor was one of the eminent scholars employed in Walton's Polyglot. Bishop Burnet speaks of him as a man of great learning, and of most eminent merit; maintaining the cause of the church in a very singular manner, combining high principle with a moderate temper, and bent on reforming abuses among the clergy.†

Brian
Walton.

BRIAN WALTON, the indefatigable editor of the London Polyglot, was deprived of the living of St. Martin's Orgar, London, by the Parliament. He had, however, another benefice at Sandon, in Essex. Sir Henry Mildmay and Mr. Ash, members of Parliament, drew up articles against him, which were sent to Sandon to be witnessed and subscribed. Being expelled from this living, he took refuge with the King's party at Oxford. During this period, he formed the plan of the Polyglot Bible, which he commenced in London in 1653, and completed in four years. He had the honour to present this monument of biblical learning

* Busire's Life of Dr. Cosin. Wood's Athenæ, vol. i. p. 541. Hist. of Peterborough, p. 339. Quere's Cantab. p. 7.

† History of his own Times, vol. i. p. 295.

and industry to Charles II. who appointed him his chaplain in ordinary, and promoted him to the see of Chester. His reception in that ancient city in the year 1660, was one of unusual excitement among all ranks. It was, according to Anthony Wood, "a day not to be forgotten by all the true sons of the Church of England, though cursed then in private by the most rascally faction, and crop-eared whelps of those parts, who did their endeavours to make it a May game, and a piece of foppery."*

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

Walton was assisted in his great work, the Polyglot, by Usher, Dr. Fuller, Ryves, Castell, Stokes, Huish, Samuel Clarke, Hyde, Wheelock, Thorndike, Pococke, Greaves, Loftus, Hammond, Sanderson, Sheldon, Sterne, Ferne, Smith, Baker, and other scholars. It is a curious fact, that in the preface to this Polyglot, Walton acknowledged the patronage of Cromwell; but after the Restoration, the paragraph containing this acknowledgement was suppressed, and its place was supplied by a compliment to the King.† Dr. Walton was one of the commissioners in the Savoy conferences, of which we shall have presently to give some account. He died in London, after returning from a visit to his diocese, on the 29th of November, 1661; and he was buried, with great pomp, at St. Paul's, of which Cathedral he was a prebendary. His monument was placed over his grave on the south side of the Cathedral.‡

Walton's assistants in the Polyglot.

DR. SANDERSON, a native of Rotherham, in Yorkshire, and a canon of Christ Church, Oxford, was introduced by Archbishop Laud to Charles I., who made him his chaplain, and employed him, along with other Episcopalian divines, in making alterations on the book of Common Prayer, to meet the views of the Presbyterians. He also appointed him Regius professor of divinity in Oxford. Dr. Sanderson was summoned to the Westminster Assembly, but he never attended its sittings. The Parliament chose him as one of the managers of the treaty with the King for settling the affairs of the church. He had a principal hand in drawing up the Reasons of the University of Oxford against the

Dr. Sanderson.

* Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 47.

† See Hollis' Memoirs, vol. i. p. 425. Bowyer's Origin of Printing, Appendix.

‡ Lloyd's Memoirs of the lives, actions, and sufferings of excellent persons, that suffered for their allegiance to their sovereign. London, 1668. Wood's Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 730. Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Dr. Brian Walton, by J. H. Todd, London, 1821.

BOOK III. Covenant and the Negative Oath. He was also one of his
 CHAP. IV. Majesty's attendant chaplains in the Isle of Wight.

Deprived of
 his prefer-
 ments.

The Parliamentary Committee for reforming the University expelled him from his canonry and professorship, and he retired to his rectory of Boothby-Paynel, in Lincolnshire, which he held, together with two prebends, one in the church at Lincoln, and the other at Southwark. His living at Boothby had been sequestered four years before; and he was carried to prison at Lincoln. It appears that he succeeded in having the sequestration of his living taken off; but we are told that he was several times plundered, and once wounded in three places. In 1658, he was living with his wife and children in the deepest poverty. At the Restoration in 1660, he resumed his canonry and his professorship, and was consecrated Bishop of Lincoln. He wrote the preface to the book of Common Prayer, assisted in the editing of the Polyglot, and left behind him large collections of sermons, and other works, displaying vast learning, and sound judgment, though wanting in the plain and familiar style of popular English writing. He did not long enjoy his bishopric; for he died January 29, 1662, in the seventysixth year of his age.*

Dr. George
 Morley.

DR. GEORGE MORLEY, one of the chaplains of King Charles, was nominated to the Westminster Assembly, but he refused to attend. He was so prominent and active in the King's service, that the parliamentary commissioners deprived him of his preferments in the church. He assisted the King in the treaty of the Isle of Wight. He attended Lord Capel "as his confessor," before his execution on the 9th March 1648. It does not appear that he was with that nobleman on the scaffold; for Sir Bulstrode Whitelocke, speaking of Lord Capel, who was beheaded at the same time with the Duke of Hamilton, and the Earl of Holland, says, "He acted much after the manner of a stout Roman: he had *no minister* with him."†

Morley left England to join the young King at the Hague, and he continued his attendance till Charles went to Scotland, when the chaplain retired to Antwerp; where, for three or four years, he read the service of the Church of

* Isaac Walton's Life of Sanderson, bishop of Lincoln.

† Memorials, p. 350

England twice every day. During his absence from England he appears to have been chaplain for a while to the unhappy Queen of Bohemia. After the King's restoration he was loaded with ecclesiastical honours—the deanery of Christ Church, the see of Worcester, the deanery of the chapel-royal; and, finally, the bishopric of Winchester. "His loyalty to his prince, and zeal for the established church were plainly inimitable."* Anthony Wood passes a long eulogy on his loyalty, constancy, vigour, and munificence; on his piety as a Christian; and his temperance and application as a student. He says, "he was a great Calvinist, and esteemed one of the main portions of those of that persuasion." Bishop Burnet, however, assures us that though he was thought a friend to the Puritans before the wars, he took care after his promotion to free himself from all suspicion of that kind. While he bears testimony to his piety, charity, and exemplary life, he adds that he was extremely passionate, and very obstinate. He died in 1684†

DR. GILBERT SHELDEN was another of the chaplains of Charles I. He was on the point of becoming master of the Savoy, and dean of Westminster, when the King's last troubles came upon him. During the wars, he lost nearly every trace of the scholar and the clergyman in the politician. Being ejected from the wardenship of Trinity College, Oxford, by the parliamentary commissioners, he was imprisoned with Dr. Hammond; but he was released, on condition that he would not go to the King in the Isle of Wight. At the Restoration he was made a member of the Privy Council, and dean of the chapel-royal; and he was the successor of Dr. Juxon, first as Bishop of London, and then as Archbishop of Canterbury. Bishop Burnet says, "he was a very dexterous man in business, had a great quickness of apprehension, and a very true judgment. He had a great pleasantness of conversation, perhaps too great. He had an art that was peculiar to him, of treating all that came to him in a most obliging manner. But few depended much on his professions of friendship. He seemed not to have a deep sense of religion, if any at all; and spoke of it most

Dr. Gilbert
Shelden.

* Walker's Attempt, part ii. p. 106.

† Wood's Ath. Oxon. vol. iv. No. 594. Burnet's Hist. of his Own Times.

BOOK III. commonly as of an engine of government, and a matter of
 CHAP. IV. policy. By this means the King came to look on him as a
 wise and honest clergyman.”* Dr. Sheldon died in 1677,
 and was buried, at his own request, near the tomb of Arch-
 bishop Whitgift, in the parish church at Croydon. It is re-
 markable that the only publication he left behind him was
 the sermon preached before the King at Whitehall, June
 28, 1660, the day of solemn thanksgiving for the return of
 his Majesty. The theatre of the University of Oxford was
 built by him at his own expense, and likewise the library
 at Lambeth House. Between the time of his being made
 Bishop of London and his death, he spent about sixty-six
 thousand pounds in public and charitable uses.†

His great
 charity.

THESE were the principal men of the Episcopal Church
 in England who suffered in consequence of the ascendancy
 of the Puritans. The numbers who were deprived of their
 livings in the church and in the universities was of course
 very large. The reader will find a list of them in Mr. John
 Walker’s “Attempt towards Recovering an Account of the
 Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy of the Church of
 England;” and in the same work there is a particular
 account of the mode in which they were dealt with by the
 several commissioners of the Parliament. In Dr. Garden’s
 Petitionary Remonstrance addressed to the Protector, it is
 stated that above half of the ministers and scholars of
 England and Wales had been, upon one account or other,
 sequestered from their livings, besides fellowships or free
 schools. To these Mr. Walker adds curates, chaplains, per-
 sons not fixed, and persons not in any orders, but preparing
 for them; and he reckons the whole number as amounting
 to ten thousand.

Fuller says of many of the ejected clergy, “some of their
 offences were so foul it is a shame to report them, crying to
 justice for punishment.” Indeed, Constantine the Christian
 emperor was wont to say, “If I see a clergyman offending,
 I will cover him with my cloak;” but surely he meant
 such offences as are frailties and infirmities; not scandalous
 enormities. He then states the pleas of the Royalists
 for their friends, which amount to this: that some of the

* Wood’s Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. No 52.

† Burnet, vol. i. p. 294.

offences charged on the ejected clergy were capital, and there is a suspicion of defective proof; that the witnesses against them were seldom examined on oath; that many of the complainers were factious persons; that some of the clergy were charged unjustly with false doctrine; and that the real fault, in many cases, was loyalty. He adds, that "many moderate men of the opposite party much bemoaned such severity, that some clergymen, blameless for life, and orthodox for doctrine, were only ejected on account of their faithfulness to the King's cause; and as much corruption was let out by this ejection (many scandalous ministers deservedly punished), so at the same time the veins of the English Church were also emptied of much good blood (some inoffensive pastors), which hath made her body drop-sical ever since, ill humours succeeding in the room, by reason of too large and sudden evacuation." *

Dr Heylin handled Fuller very severely for this passage in his *Animadversions* on his Church History; but Fuller replies to him with his wonted good humour and candour, in his "Appeal of Injured Innocence."—(Part iii. b. xi., sect. i. 308-310.)

That the clergy generally suffered much during the civil wars cannot be doubted; neither can it be doubted that injustice was done, in many cases, by the violence of political antipathies, and by the rudeness of soldiers, as well as by the enthusiasm of religious parties, who ascribed their own long course of suffering to the prelates, and to all who adhered to them. At the same time, it is confessed by moderate men of all parties that a large portion of the clergy were utterly unworthy of their sacred office, and incompetent to the discharge of its duties, so that their removal was a benefit rather than an injury to the church.

Treatment of
the clergy
under Crom-
well.

The triers appointed by Cromwell have been exposed to the cheap ridicule which was at one time somewhat fashionable on these topics, but which the growing intelligence of Englishmen begins to value according to its real worth; nothing, however, can be plainer to those who have gone into the inquiry carefully, and with candour, than the general truthfulness of Baxter's deliberate statements on this subject:—

* Church Hist. cent. xvii. b. xi. pp. 31-34.

BOOK III.

CHAP. IV.

Baxter's defence of the
Triers.

" Because this assembly of triers is most heavily accused and reproached by some men, I shall speak the truth of them, and (I) suppose my word will be rather taken, because most of them took me for one of their boldest adversaries as to their opinions, and because I was known to disown their power ; insomuch that I refused to try any under them upon their reference, except very few, whose importunity and necessity moved me (they being such as. for their Episcopal judgment, or some such cause, the triers were likely to have rejected.) The truth is, that though their authority is *null*,* and though some few over busy and over rigid Independents among them were too severe against all that were Arminians, and too particular in inquiring after evidences of sanctification in those whom they examined, and somewhat too lax in their admission of unlearned and erroneous men that favoured Antinomianism or Anabaptism, yet, to give them their due, they did abundance of good to the church. They saved many a congregation from ignorant, ungodly, drunken teachers—the sort of men that intended no more in the ministry than to say a sermon as readers say their common prayers, and to patch up a few good words together to talk the people asleep with on Sunday, and all the rest of the week to go with them to the ale-house, and harden them in their sin ; and that sort of ministers that either preached against a holy life, or preached as men that never were acquainted with it. All those who used the ministry but as a common trade to live by were never likely to convert a soul : all these they usually rejected ; and in their stead they admitted any that were able serious preachers, and lived a godly life, of what tolerable opinion soever they were. So that though there were many of them somewhat partial for the Independents, Separatists, Fifth-monarchy men, and Anabaptists, and against the Prelatists and Arminians, so great was the benefit above the hurt which they brought to the church, that many thousands of souls blessed God for the faithful ministers whom they let in, and grieved when the Prelatists afterwards cast them out again.

* Mr. Orme, in his *Life of Baxter*, has the word "*mild*" in this passage, which has no meaning, and is obviously one of several errors of transcription, or of the press. I copy from *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, 1st edit. 1696.

“ And—because I am fallen on this subject—I will look back upon the alterations that were made upon the ministry by the Long Parliament before, both by the county committees and the synod at Westminster. I know there are men in the world that defame both the actors and the work, and would make the world believe that almost none but worthy, learned men were turned out, and that for their fidelity to the King and bishops; and that almost none but unlearned and factious fellows were introduced. But this age hath taught the world how little the report of such men is to be believed of any others who speak what their *interest* and *malice* do command them, and by these are made strangers to the men they speak of, though they dwell among them; for they converse not with them at all, unless in some wrangling dispute, when malice and passion seek a whetstone; but they talk only with those that talk against them, and easily believe any false reports when once they are so like the common enemy that they desire them to be true.

“ The power of casting out unworthy men was partly in a committee of Parliamentmen at London, and partly in the committees of each several county, according to an ordinance of Parliament, expressing their crimes. Herein it was laudable: that drunkards, swearers, cursers, blasphemers, heretics, fornicators, and such scandalous persons, were to be ejected; but it was not well done to put in those among them that had been against the Parliament in the war: for the work of God should not give place to the matters of their secular interest and policy, as long as the being of the commonwealth is secured; and all the learned ministers in the land, on one side and on the other, are few enough to do the work of Christ; and I believe that those that were against them would have done them less hurt in the pulpits, *where there were so many witnesses*, than they did in private. But yet, I must needs say, that in all the countries where I was acquainted, six to one, at least, (if not many more,) that were sequestered by the committee were, by the oaths of witnesses, proved insufficient, or scandalous, or both, especially guilty of drunkenness or swearing; and those that being able godly preachers were cast out for the war alone, as for their opinion's sake, were

BOOK III. comparatively very few. This, I know, will displease their
 CHAP. IV. party, but *this is true*; and though now and then an unworthy person, by sinister means, crept into their places, yet commonly those whom they put in were such as set themselves laboriously to seek the salvation of souls. Indeed, the one-half of them were very young; but that could not be helped, because there were no other to be had. You must understand, that when the Parliament purged the ministry, they cast out the grosser sort of insufficient and scandalous ones, as gross drunkards and such like, and also some few civil men that had assisted in the wars against the Parliament, or set up bowing to altars, and such innovations; but they had left in near one-half the ministers that were not good enough to do much service, nor bad enough to be cast out as utterly intolerable: these were a company of poor weak preachers that had no great skill in divinity, nor zeal for godliness; but preached weakly that which is true, and lived in no gross notorious sin. These men were not cast out; but yet their people greatly needed help, for their dark sleepy preaching did but little good.*. . . The Parliament could not make men learned, nor godly; but only put in the learnedst and ablest that they could have. And though it had been to be wished that they might have had leisure to ripen in the universities, yet many of them did—as Ambrose—teach and learn at once so successfully, as that they much increased in learning themselves whilst they profited others, and proportionably more than any in the universities do.”†

* Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, lib. 1. p. 1.

† Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, lib. 1. pp. 50, 116, 117

CHAPTER V.

THE PURITANS IN THE REIGN OF CHARLES II.

SECTION I.—PURITAN NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE KING.

BOOK III.
CHAP. V

AFTER the death of Oliver Cromwell, and the resignation of his son Richard, the eyes of the nation were generally directed to Charles. This prince had been proclaimed in Ireland ; and in Scotland, after swearing to the Covenant, he had been crowned, according to the ancient usage of the Scottish kings, at Scone. The battle of Worcester, however, had seemed to destroy for ever his hopes of ascending the throne of England. The powerful influence of Cromwell with the Court of France had driven him from his refuge in that country, and had thrown him as a poor pensioner into the arms of Spain. Many causes, however, now conspired to render it a matter of expediency, if not of necessity, that he should be recalled. Once more the army had quarrelled with the Parliament. The strength of the Royalist party throughout the nation, which had in fact been growing ever since the execution of the late king, was indicated by the elections ; and the political parties opposed to the King, whether on principle or from fear, were too nearly balanced for any one of them to gain the ascendancy over the rest. Thus encouraged, Charles and his attendants, at Brussels, kept up an active correspondence with the leaders of the different parties at home ; and, after a long course of intrigue and dissimulation on many sides, it was agreed that he should be recalled. While yet at Breda, in Brabant, watching the progress of negotiations as seriously as was compatible with the levity of his disposition, Charles sent forth a royal declaration, promising—among other things—such liberty for tender consciences, that no man should be called in question for religious opinions which did not disturb the peace of the kingdom.* The national en-

* Journal of the House of Lords, xi. p. 710.

BOOK III. thusiasm was at its height. No limits were imposed on the
 CHAP. V. new sovereign. He landed at Dover, and passed, as if in triumph, through crowds of nobles, gentry, and people of all ranks, to receive at Whitehall the professions of unbounded loyalty from both Houses of Parliament.*

Presbyterian
deputation to
Breda.

Previously to the King's departure from Breda, a deputation from Parliament had been accompanied by some of the principal Presbyterian clergy from London: Doctors Reynolds and Spurston, and Messrs. Calamy, Hall, Manton, Bowles, and Case. They expressed to the King their own affection and that of their friends towards him, declaring that they were not opposed to a moderate Episcopacy, and praying that indifferent things might not be imposed on them in the worship of God.

Expectations
at the Resto-
ration.

When the King returned there was a great variety of opinions and of expectations respecting the course he might adopt in relation to the church. The Presbyterian clergy, who felt themselves bound by their covenant to acknowledge Charles as the undoubted heir to the crown, had done all in their power to bring about his restoration; but while one portion of them were led, by the representations made to them of the King's character, to hope that they would be allowed to retain their churches, and another portion expected no more from the ascendancy of the Episcopal party than such a toleration as the Protestants enjoyed in France, there were not a few who looked more deeply into the probabilities of the case, and indulged in the darkest forebodings. The more sanguine of their number built their hopes on the published determination of the Royalist party in several counties to forget all past injuries, and to live in peace. They put the largest and most favourable construction on the King's declaration from Breda; and in these hopes they were encouraged by Dr. Morley and other eminent divines among the Royalists, who, *before* the King's return, had met with some of the Presbyterian ministers in private, and had given them assurances of great lenity and moderation.

On the other hand, the fears of those who dreaded the consequences of the restoration were grounded on the views

* Clarendon's Hist. iii. p. 772 Evelyn's Diary, ii. p. 148 Whitelock's Memorials, p. 702.

they took of the religious character of the two great parties which had been warring against each other for twenty years. Regarding the party now recovering its ascendancy, as having been from the beginning composed chiefly of those who were enemies to serious and spiritual religion, while the friends of such religion were mainly found to side with the Parliament against the late King, they argued that every man whose religion did not show itself in forms and ceremonies would be scoffed at as a Puritan, and denounced as a rebel, though not one in forty of their ministers had taken any part whatever in the wars.

Nor were those belonging to the Episcopalian party all of one mind. There were those among them who thought favourably of a union with the Presbyterians, and even of rewarding them for bringing home the King; while others looked on the restoration of the King as necessarily bringing along with it the restoration of their own church to its ancient revenues and splendour.

To soothe and gratify the Presbyterian clergy, several of the most eminent among them * were admitted as chaplains in ordinary to the King; and Mr Calamy, Dr Reynolds, and Mr Baxter, preached each of them once at Court.

Concessions
to the Pres-
byterians.

The intercourse of these Presbyterian chaplains with statesmen, Episcopal divines, and courtiers, led to many attempts at forming a scheme of comprehension which would enable the Presbyterian clergy to retain their ministry and their livings in the church. In apparent compliance with this scheme, the King granted an audience to several of their leaders in the lodgings of the Earl of Manchester, the lord chamberlain. Baxter seems to have been the chief speaker. After a long preamble, in which he bespoke his Majesty's gracious attention, he told him that it was not for Presbyterians, or for any *party* as such, that they were pleading, but for the religious part of his subjects as such. He dwelt on the advantages of union to his Majesty, to the people, to the bishops themselves; and he showed that such a union might be easily secured by taking only things necessary for its basis; by the true exercise of church discipline against sin; and by neither casting out

* Mr. Calamy and Dr. Reynolds, Mr. Baxter, Dr. Eates, Dr. Manton, Dr. Spurstow, Dr. Wallis, Mr. Carr, and three or four more.

BOOK III
CHAP. V.

faithful ministers, whose consciences would urge them to exercise such discipline, nor obtruding unworthy and incompetent clergymen upon the Christian people.

The King, in reply to the addresses of Baxter and his brethren, professed his gladness to hear of their desires for agreement, and his resolution at the same time to do his part in bringing it about. He told them that the desired union could be effected not by bringing one party over to the other, but by each party yielding some points, and meeting on common ground. He assured them, that if the attempt at union failed, it would not be his fault, but their's, for he was resolved to see it brought to pass, and he would draw the parties together himself. In furtherance, as it appeared, of this gracious design, his Majesty desired the Presbyterian clergy to draw up their proposals, stating how far they could go in the way of concession on the points of difference between themselves and the Episcopalians in the matter of church government.

Proposals for
mutual con-
cession.

In obedience to this royal command, the Presbyterian leaders consulted with as many of their brethren in London as they could bring together at *Sion* College, where, after much debating, they drew up a paper of proposals—in which they adopted Archbishop Usher's model of church government—to be laid before the King. On their arrival in the royal presence, the Presbyterian leaders were bitterly disappointed at not meeting, as they had expected, with any of the divines of the other party; but the King himself most graciously repeated his former professions, declaring he would see that the bishops should come down and make concessions on their part.

Objections of
the Bishops.

Instead, however, of concessions, the Bishops forwarded to the assembled Presbyterian ministers an elaborate paper of objections to every part of their proposals, concluding in these remarkable words:—

“ We are so far from believing that his Majesty's condescending to these demands will take away not only differences, but the roots and causes of them, that we are confident it will prove the seminary of new differences, both by giving dissatisfaction to those that are well pleased with what is already established—who are much the greater part of his Majesty's subjects—and by encouraging unquiet

spirits when these things shall be granted to make further demands; there being no assurance by them given what will content all Dissenters; than which nothing is more necessary for the settling of a firm peace in the church."

To this paper of the Bishops a long rejoinder was written by Baxter, who concludes in this dignified and serious style:—"If your want of charity were not extraordinary, it could not work effectually to the end of afflicting your brethren and the church. When we tell you what will end our differences, you know our minds so much better than ourselves that you will not believe us; but you will be confident that we will come on with new demands.

Baxter's reply to the Bishops

"This is *your* way of conciliation! When you were to bring in your utmost concessions in order to our unity, and it was promised by his Majesty that you should meet us half-way, you bring in nothing; and you persuade his Majesty also that he should not believe us in what we offer, that it would not be satisfactory if it were granted!

"You say *that it will give dissatisfaction to the greater part of his Majesty's subjects!* We are more charitable than to believe that a quarter of his Majesty's subjects are so *uncharitable* as to be dissatisfied, if their brethren be not excommunicated for not *swearing, subscribing, or using a ceremony*, whilst they may do it as much as they list themselves. And whereas you say, *that there is no assurance given that it will content all Dissenters*, you know that there are many Dissenters, as Papists, Quakers, &c., for whom we never meddled; and we think this an unjust answer to be given to them who craved of his Majesty that they might send to their brethren throughout the land to have the testimony of their common consent, and were denied it, and told that it should be our work alone, and imputed to no others.

"In conclusion, we perceive that your counsels *against* peace are not likely to be frustrated. Your desires concerning us are likely to be accomplished. You are likely to be gratified with our silence and ejection, and the excommunication and consequent sufferings of Dissenters. And yet we will believe, that *blessed are the peace makers*; and though *deceit be in the heart of them that imagine evil*, yet *there is joy to the counsellors of peace*. And though we are

BOOK III. stopped by you in our following of *peace*, and are never
 CHAP. V. likely thus publicly to seek it more, because you think we
 must hold our tongues that you may hold your peace ; yet
 are we resolved, by the help of God, *if it be possible*, and as
 much as lieth in us, to live peaceably with all men." *

SECTION II.—THE SAVOY CONFERENCE.

Discouraging as was the issue of the Puritan negotiations with the King, the disappointed ministers resolved to act according to their own professed desires for peace. They knew that they were not formidable in point of number ; and, even if they had been, their consciences bound them to offer no resistance to the legal exercise of acknowledged authority. " I looked," says Baxter, " to the end of all these actions, and the chief thing that moved me, next to the pleasing of God and of conscience, is, that when we are all silenced and persecuted, and the history of these things shall be delivered to posterity, it will be a just blot upon us if we suffer as refusing to sue for peace ; and it will be our just vindication when it shall appear that we have humbly petitioned for and earnestly pursued after peace, and came as near them for the obtaining it as Scripture and reason will allow us to do, and were ready to do any thing for peace, except to sin and damn our souls ; and, for my own part, I could suffer much more comfortably when I had used these means and been repulsed, than if I had used none ; and, lastly, I gave them all notice that I hoped, if we got no more, to have an opportunity by this treaty to state our difference right to the understanding of foreigners and posterity, and to bear my testimony to the cause of truth, and peace, and godliness, openly under the protection of the King's authority both by word and writing, which they that sit still would never do, but look on with secret silent grief till all is gone, and then have their consciences, and others, tell them that they never made any just attempt, or spake a word to prevent the ruin." †

While the Puritan party were thus anticipating the worst, the Bishops, it may be supposed, were not idle. The

* Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, lib. i. p. ii. p. 90-102.

† Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, p. ii. p. 259.

liturgy was restored by public authority. For not complying with this order, many of the clergy were forcibly removed from their livings. In reply to a remonstrance from the London ministers, the King issued a declaration, which Episcopalians of that day lauded as breathing the spirit of true wisdom and charity, and for which the Presbyterians offered him their public thanks: in reply to which acknowledgment his Majesty said: "*I will endeavour to give you all satisfaction, and to make you as happy as myself.*" On the ground of this declaration Dr. Reynolds accepted the Bishopric of Norwich, and Dr. Manton took the living of Covent Garden. At the same time Mr. Baxter, on separate grounds, refused the Bishopric of Hereford. Mr. Calamy declined the Bishopric of Litchfield and Coventry until the King's declaration should become the law of the land. Dr. Bates, probably for the same reason, refused the Deanery of Litchfield, and Mr Bowles the Deanery of York.

The King's declaration, however, was rejected by the House of Commons. While the Bishops were revelling in pomp, not a few of the scrupulous clergy—even some who had been most zealous for the Restoration—were driven from their benefices, fined, and sent to prison. The sequestered clergy to some extent had recovered their livings. The corpses of Cromwell and of many others were digged out of their graves, drawn on hurdles to Tyburn, hung up for a day, then decapitated, and buried together in a hole beneath the gibbet. The surviving agents in the late King's death were, with some exceptions, hanged. The writings of Milton in defence of the regicides were ignominiously burned by the executioner.

Excesses of
the royalists

The Roman Catholics now came forth from their lurking places both in England and in Ireland, and they were graciously received by the King. Venner's insurrection gave occasion and excuse for an order in council, followed by a proclamation, forbidding all sectaries to meet in large numbers, or at unusual times, though the Independents, the Baptists, and the Quakers, severally published their detestation of Venner's insurrection, and urged their prayer for toleration. In the midst of these troubles the Presbyterian clergy were exposed to all manner of rude insults. Pretended plots were laid to their charge. The infamous Cor-

Proclamation
against sec-
tarists.

BOOK III.
CHAP. V.

PORATION Act expelled from every municipal trust all who were not slavishly devoted to the King and to the Episcopal Church. It was in this state of affairs that the celebrated conferences were held at the Bishop of London's lodgings in the Savoy. These conferences were appointed to sit four months from the 25th of March 1661. They were conducted by twelve Bishops, with nine assistants, and the same number of Presbyterians. Their proposed object was to advise upon and review the Book of Common Prayer, for the purpose of giving satisfaction to tender consciences, and restoring and continuing peace and unity in the church.*

The Savoy
Conference.

At the first meeting of the commissioners, Dr. Sheldon, the new Bishop of London, took the lead. He told them that this meeting had not been sought by his party, who were satisfied with the liturgy as it was, but by the opposite party, who desired that alterations might be made. He therefore insisted that they should bring forward their objections all at once in writing. These objections, stated at considerable length, accompanied with a new liturgy, were drawn up by Baxter. The great length of the objections was pointed out by the Episcopal party, as a proof that they had to do with men who could never be satisfied ; while the substitution of a hastily composed liturgy for one which had been deliberately prepared, and had been a hundred years in use, was, they said, a clear evidence of their presumption. Neither were the Presbyterians entirely agreed among themselves. In the end the whole business was reduced to the single question—*Is it lawful or sinful to impose indifferent ceremonies in the worship of God?* The Bishops pressed the Presbyterians to prove that any of the things imposed by the liturgy were by themselves sinful. The Presbyterians, on the other hand, contented themselves with maintaining, that many circumstances might render it unlawful to insist on matters acknowledged by the imposers to be indifferent. They instanced more particularly the law which required that all persons should kneel at the Lord's table, as placing a human limitation upon an express ordinance of Christ. This point being once raised, an opening conference was held respecting it, which lasted several days. Baxter and Gunning were the champions

for the respective sides. Gunning, who afterwards became Bishop, first of Chichester and then of Ely, was a man of large reading and a subtle reasoner, strongly inclined in many respects to the Roman Catholic Church, and well versed in all the arts of sophistry. Baxter is described by Bishop Burnet as "a man of great piety, who, if he had not meddled in too many things, would have been esteemed one of the learned men of the age. He was his whole life long a man of great zeal and much simplicity; but was most unhappily subtle and metaphysical in every thing."*

The controversy between these well matched disputants excited great attention, being resorted to as a most entertaining exhibition of intellectual fencing.

The time appointed for the conference passed away without the parties coming to any agreement. The Bishops, insisting that the laws were still in force, would yield nothing until it should be proved that those laws were sinful, and charged the Presbyterians with a schismatical accusation against the church of matters which they themselves would not venture to condemn as sinful. We see no reason, they said, to gratify such men in any thing; one demand granted will draw on many more; all authority in Church and State is struck at by the position on which they insist, that it is not lawful to impose things indifferent, these being the only things with which human authority can interfere. As a specimen of the sharpness with which it was attempted to fasten on the Presbyterians the odium of being enemies to all order, the following fact deserves to be remembered. Baxter said, on one occasion, "Such things would offend many good men in the *nation*." Sterne, Archbishop of York, said "that Baxter would not say kingdom, but nation, because he would not acknowledge the King!"† So decent was the return for the zeal of the Presbyterians in bringing back the King. "With grief I told him," says Baxter, "that half the charity which became so grave a bishop might have sufficed to have helped him to a better exposition." In Baxter's Life a full account is given of these proceedings. We learn from his narrative that the work of the conference was carried on by only a small number of the commissioners. Dr. Cosens, Bishop of Durham, who at-

Concession
refused.

* Hist. Own Times, vol. i. p. 300.

† Burnet, vol. i. p. 303.

BOOK III. tended constantly, spoke with severity ; Dr. Morley, Bishop
 CHAP. V. of Worcester, with vehemence ; Dr. Gunning with sophistry ;
 Dr. Pearson, with calmness and gentleness ; Dr. Gauden,
 Bishop of Exeter, with moderation. Dr. Bates and Dr.
 Manton are praised for their modesty, and Mr. Calamy for
 his gravity ; while the most prominent part was taken by
 Baxter himself, whose metaphysical power and ready inven-
 tion were not more remarkable than the tenacity with
 which he held opinions, and the earnestness with which he
 pressed them upon others. This conference was carried on
 with great vindictiveness and haughty arrogance by the
 Episcopal party, and by the Presbyterian party with the
 irritation not unnatural to men who saw that the King
 whom they had a principal hand in restoring, was about to
 violate his royal faith. "The chief blame, it cannot be dis-
 sembled, ought to fall on the Churchmen. An opportunity
 was afforded of healing, in a very great measure, that schism
 and separation which, if they are to be believed, is one of
 the worst evils which can befall a Christian community.
 They had it in their power to retain, or to expel, a vast
 number of worthy and laborious ministers of the gospel, with
 whom they had, in their own estimation, no essential
 ground of difference. They knew the King, and conse-
 quently themselves, to have been restored with (I might al-
 most say, by) the strenuous co-operation of those very men
 who were now at their mercy."*

SECTION III.—THE ACT OF UNIFORMITY, 1662.

The conclusion of the Savoy Conference was such as might have been expected from the known principles of the contending parties ; and all the documents belonging to that period prove that it was exactly what the Court and the Episcopalians had desired. The work of revising the Book of Common Prayer was now referred to the Convocation. As soon as it was completed, the Act for Uniformity in the public prayers and ceremonies of the Church of England was passed in the House of Commons by a majority of six. After a long debate, and a conference with the Commons, it was passed by only a small majority in the Lords. On the

* Hallam, vol. II. p. 198.

10th of May 1662 it received the royal assent, and it was ordered to be carried into execution on Bartholomew's Day, the 24th of August in the same year. This law required every minister to declare openly and publicly, before the congregation assembled for religious worship, his unfeigned assent and consent to the use of all things contained and prescribed in the said book, in certain words set forth, and in no other.

BOOK III.
CHAP. V.

It required further that all ministers, and all public and private teachers, should subscribe a declaration that they would conform to the liturgy, that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatever to take arms against the King, or to endeavour any change or alteration of government in Church or State. It also enacted that no person should hold any benefice, or administer the Lord's supper, unless he was ordained a priest by Episcopal ordination. The penalties for violating this law were fines, imprisonment, and deprivation of all livings in the church. By this act the King's spiritual advisers induced him to break his promise contained in the declaration from Breda. The Episcopal party broke their own promises, on the faith of which the Presbyterians joined with them in the restoration of the monarchy; the terms of conformity were made more stringent than they had been before the commencement of the civil wars; and a yoke was placed on the civil rights of Englishmen, and on the religious liberty of Christians, which is a foul blot on any system of government, and a curse to any institution which calls itself a church. Of this act the disgrace belongs in an eminent degree to the Lord Chancellor Hyde, who drew up the declaration at Breda; but the truth of history requires it to be distinctly recorded, that the leading Bishops of the Church of England were its authors, abettors, and defenders. When the Earl of Manchester told the King the terms of conformity were so strict, that he feared many of the ministers would not comply, Bishop Sheldon said, "He had been afraid that they would; but—now we know their minds—we will make them all knaves if they conform." When Dr. Allen said, "It is a pity the door is so strait." "It is no pity at all," said the same proud prelate; "if we had thought so many of them would have conformed, we would have made it straiter." The craft of

Bartholomew
Act.

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CHAP. V.

the Chancellor, and the bigotry of the Bishops, were aided by the hatred of the Parliament towards the Presbyterians, and by the poverty of the King, who sold at once his own honour and the consciences of his subjects for money.

The ejected
Nonconformists.

Before the day appointed for the enforcement of the Act, some of the most eminent of the Puritan clergy preached farewell sermons to their weeping congregations, and resigned their livings. And when the fatal day arrived, England beheld the spectacle—unparalleled in the history of the Church—of nearly two thousand clergymen giving up all that was dear to them as gentlemen, scholars, and ministers of religion, for the sake of truth and a good conscience.

Such was the end of the Puritan struggles in the Church of England. The ejected Nonconformists were the founders of numerous congregations of Christians in England, by whom the principles of the Reformation were cherished apart from the established hierarchy, and without even toleration from the State.

Of those separate churches, some had been formed long before the Act of Uniformity by Independents, Baptists, and Quakers; and a portion of these received not a few both of the ministers and of the people that were now thrown out of the church. But here the history of the Puritans as a body in the Anglican Church comes to an end. It belongs to another department to trace the progress of the Nonconformists.

Opinions of
the Act of
Uniformity.

The Act of Uniformity has been defended, and is defended still; but, though this is not the place for controversial discussion, it is but just to state, that from the passing of that Act until the present day, it has been condemned by the most thoughtful and candid writers of nearly every persuasion.

The spirit of the measure was that of haughty and vindictive retaliation, beneath the dignity of statesmen, and unworthy of the character of Christians.

The circumstances attending it were disgraceful to all parties, excepting the sufferers; the King was convicted of dissimulation, the leaders of the Church of treacherous ingratitude, and the Parliament of grossly neglecting, in the heat of their passionate loyalty, the justice that was due to every subject of the realm, and the grand principles of

liberty by which alone the safety of the throne and the rights of the nation can ever be secured. Instead of promoting unity and peace, it gave a bribe to the unprincipled, and multiplied the divisions of the conscientious. It turned devotion into pageantry, substituted superstition for piety, rancour for zeal, and unquestioning submission to human authority for faith in the truth of God, and hearty obedience to his revealed will. It was essentially the system of which Popery is the perfection.

It was among the aggravations of this wicked Act, that not one man in forty could have the opportunity of examining the book to which all were required to profess their unfeigned assent and consent.* And it was another aggravation that the time fixed for the execution of the Act went to deprive the non-conforming clergy of their means of living for a whole year, as the tithes were commonly due about two months after St. Bartholomew's Day.† It was not unnatural that the Presbyterians should compare these harsh proceedings with another *Bartholomew Day*, when, ninety years before, the unoffending Protestants were massacred in Paris. The sufferings of those ejected men were strongly contrasted to those of the Roman Catholics in the reign of Elizabeth, and of the Episcopalians under the Long Parliament; for in both those instances a fifth part of the benefices of the clergy was reserved for their subsistence; much caution was used in proceeding to the extremity of deprivation, and those who were deprived were treated with many kinds of indulgence.

But the victims of the Bartholomew Act were silenced by ministers of the same Protestant faith; and they were driven from the pulpits, which could not then be adequately filled, to die of want, or to suffer the most cruel persecutions, if they lifted up their voices for the instruction or

* *Locke's Letter to a Person of Quality.*—The same great writer says, in his Third Letter on Toleration, "They who talk so much of sects and divisions would do well to consider, too, whether those are not most authors and promoters of sects and divisions who impose creeds, ceremonies, and articles of men's making, and make things not necessary to salvation the necessary terms of salvation, and treating them as if they were aliens from the church of God, and such as were deservedly shut out as unfit to be members of it: who narrow Christianity within bounds of their own making, and which the gospel knows nothing of; and often for things by themselves confessed indifferent thrust men out of their communion, and then punish them for not being of it."

† *Barnet*, vol. i. p. 308.

BOOK III. consolation of the bereaved and insulted people on whose
 CHAP. V. freewill offerings they were thrown.

Character of
 the ejected
 Ministers.

No bigotry can weaken the evidence of their learning, their sanctity, their loyalty, their love of order, their ministerial qualifications, and their laborious diligence. They struggled on to the end of life amid the frowns of power and the hardships of poverty, and they left behind them a memorial which will last as long as our language, and will spread as widely as our religion. Manton and Howe, Baxter and Charnock, Bates and Flavel, are names that cannot die; even now they are better known among the pious members of the Church which flung them from her bosom than any one of their Episcopal oppressors. And the liberty for which they suffered has become dear to the hearts of millions, who have in this respect become wiser than their teachers, entertaining larger views of toleration, and carrying to a greater extent the distinction between the duties which are peculiar to religion, and the rights which are common to mankind. The spirit of the ancient Christians, which was partially revived at the era of the Reformation, animated the Puritans in their objections to the usurpations of human authority, and in their patient sufferings for conscience' sake; and to their manly protest, given with meekness and humility, England owes all her freedom, not a little of her choicest learning, and very much of her evangelical light and fervour. With the opinions and wishes of the great bulk of the Puritans in matters ecclesiastical, the principles embodied in their best writings have taught us to have no sympathy. But their noble theology, their spiritual earnestness, their unwearied industry, and their glorious testimony to the freedom of the human conscience, have won the approbation of the wisest and the best men in both hemispheres, and their true monument will endure for ever in the grateful hearts of the holy and the *free*.

. The publisher begs to announce, that there will be issued, uniform with the present work, "THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH NONCONFORMISTS," with an Appendix containing the Farewell Sermons of some of the most eminent among the ejected ministers. See Advertisement, page 13.

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THE
PILGRIM FATHERS.

RE

DANIEL WILSON, F.S.A. SCOT.

AUTHOR OF "CROMWELL AND THE PROTECTORATE," ETC.

Like Israel's host to exile driven,
Across the flood the Pilgrims fled;
Their hands bore up the ark of Heaven,
And Heaven their trusting footsteps led,
Till on these savage shores they trod
And won the wilderness for God.

PIERPONT.

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PREFACE.

THE name of the PILGRIM FATHERS has become a household word among all good and true men, in the Old and the New World. England has learned to feel that the pride which accompanies the remembrance of them as her children, can compensate for the dishonour done her by unworthy sons, who cast them forth from their native land. America looks proudly back to them as a national ancestry, more noble than the lineage of the eldest of Europe's royal lines. In them the New and the Old World meet, and another era begins in the history of nations.

To exhibit the virtues of such men, requires no more than a true narrative of their deeds, and a just exposition of the principles by which they were actuated. No more has been attempted in the following pages. A great deal has been attained, if thus much has been done.

The author feels it especially necessary to place his own work in its true light as an unpretending narrative, expanding into a somewhat comprehensive view one of the remarkable results of English Puritanism. United as it is, in the present series, with Mr. Stowell's careful and well-digested History of the Puritans, he feels that he may appear to claim for his mere picturesque narrative more than it has any pretensions to. It is only justice to himself therefore, to say,

that the history of the Pilgrim Fathers was originally destined for another pen, and was undertaken by him when the publisher had been unexpectedly disappointed, after the volume was announced for publication. This, he trusts, will be borne in remembrance in any comparison that may be drawn between the elaborately authenticated History of the Puritans, and this narrative of one, certainly not the least striking or important, of the momentous results which have sprung from the development of Protestant Nonconformity among the Anglo-Saxon race.

EDINBURGH, May. 1849.

THE PILGRIM FATHERS.

CHAPTER I.

THE DISCOVERERS.

Chosen of men! 'twas thine, at noon of night,
First from the prow to hail the glimmering light;
Emblem of Truth divine, whose secret ray
Enters the soul, and makes the darkness day!

There methought it shone!

There—in the west—and now, alas, 'tis gone!—
'Twas all a dream! We gaze and gaze in vain!—
But, mark and speak not, there it comes again!

ROGERS.

In the year 1486, while Christian and Moor disputed possession of the western peninsula, and all the magnificence and valour of the chivalry of Spain were marshalling for renewal of Moslem war, a poor wayfarer,—supplied on his journey by the alms of the convent gate, and sustained amid poverty and disappointment by the indomitable faith of genius,—sought the court of Ferdinand and Isabella, and offered to discover for them a new world! The time was altogether unpropitious for such a scheme. With the whole array of the kingdom mustering for renewal of the Moorish war, and the fate of Castile hanging on the fortune of arms, the magnificent projects of the poor wayfarer seemed as idle dreams. Nevertheless the busiest men have generally the greatest leisure, and while lounging courtiers and indolent priests smiled at the scheme of Columbus, and shallow financiers treated it with contempt, he found sympathy and encouragement among the few men possessed of genius

CHAP. I.

Anticipated
discovery.

CHAP. I.

allied to his own. The queen, Isabella, a woman of true genius, admitted him to an audience, and listened, as the wise only listen, to the arguments of the great navigator. Nevertheless years of vain tarrying and hopeless delay must intervene, ere Columbus shall be permitted to achieve his mighty task.

Rejected by
Portugal.

Already had an assembly of learned bishops and unlearned pilots, at the court of John II. of Portugal, sat in council on the proposition, and pronounced the whole project of Columbus an extravagant and visionary scheme. The courtiers and philosophers of Castile were not a whit behind their Portuguese brethren. For five tedious years Columbus prosecuted his suit at the court of Ferdinand and Isabella, beseeching permission to win for them a new world; and at length his patience was rewarded by the decision of a grave council of doctors who assembled at Salamanca, and published as their opinion that the scheme was vain and impossible,—as indeed to such learned councillors it undoubtedly was. Columbus had set his life-work before him, and no disappointment could scare him from its pursuit. His soul was inspired with the great idea he had wrought out, which no difficulty could seduce him from accomplishing. “When he had formed his theory,” says his latest and best biographer, Washington Irving, “it became fixed in his mind with singular firmness, and influenced his entire character and conduct. He never spoke in doubt or hesitation, but with as much certainty as if his eyes had beheld the promised land. No trial nor disappointment could afterwards divert him from the steady pursuit of his object. A deep religious sentiment mingled with his meditations, and gave them at times a tinge of superstition, but it was of a sublime and lofty kind; he looked upon himself as standing in the hand of Heaven, chosen from among men for the accomplishment of its high purpose; he read, as he supposed, his contemplated discovery foretold in Holy Writ, and shadowed forth darkly in the mystic revelations of the prophets. The ends of the earth were to be brought together, and all nations and tongues and languages united under the banners of the Redeemer.”*

Aspirations
of Columbus.

Was there not something prophetic in the glorious anticipations of Columbus? Long indeed did they tarry for their accomplishment. Spain had already established the dreadful tribunal of the Inquisition on her native soil. She could not be the missionary of Heaven's purposes, though Providence permitted her for a time to work out the beginnings of so great a future. The Spaniard, curst with the lust of gold, bartered at the shrine of Moloch his honour, his patriotism, his humanity, his soul,—and won his reward. But the spoiler became the prey. Spain, which then asserted her pre-eminence among the nations of Europe by monuments in arts and literature which still survive to mock her misery, now owns not a foot of soil on the continents discovered and peopled by her sons. Her gold has been the prey of every nation,—her colonies have been wrested from her, or have disowned her yoke, and wanderers from other lands, whose new soil was shadowed with the virgin forests, and trod alone by the Red Indian, for more than a century after the Spaniard had established himself in the magnificent capital of Montezuma, have in our own day dictated terms to the vanquished descendants of the colonists of Spain.

The reward
of Spain.

The nations of Europe who shared with Spain in the discovery of the new regions of the western world, have little reason to congratulate themselves on any display of superior virtue in those who followed in the track of the great Genoese. Happily England is not cursed with the blood of exterminated Charibs. Providence, that had chosen her to plant the colonies from whence a great nation was to spring, rescued her from the infamy which still clings to Spain. But the commercial energy by which her early colonists were characterized, was not always unalloyed by baser ingredients. The reprisals with which the great admirals of Queen Elizabeth's reign sought to avenge on the haughty Spaniard their nation's wrongs, were not unfrequently influenced by no higher motive than the pirate's hope of plunder; and when the sceptre of Elizabeth had passed into the weak hands of her successor, the struggle of servility and lust in his ignoble mind, led to the last expedition and to the judicial murder of Sir Walter Raleigh.

The Colonists
of America.

A stern retributive justice marks the ways of Providence

CHAP. I.

England's
first Colo-
nia.

Sir Walter
Raleigh.

in dealing with nations. Judgment may tarry long, but its time of execution is certain to arrive. England's first colonies planted beyond the Atlantic, are stamped to this day with the mingled character of their founders's motives. Commercial enterprise, and the love of free institutions derived from their Saxon ancestry, still influence the character of the Southern States, but the curse of slavery checks their full development, and younger colonies outstrip them in the race. Nevertheless England justly claims an honourable place among the nations of Europe for the spirit which guided her plans of colonization in the latter end of the sixteenth, and in the seventeenth century. Much of the lustre which dignifies the name of Drake, is, it must be confessed, due to his success in a career of bold piracy ; but while daring adventurers at the court of Elizabeth, valued only the chances of lawless plunder, or the unbounded spoils of the undiscovered El Dorado, statesmen of sounder judgment fostered the commercial spirit, by which alone this love of adventure could be turned to good account, or beneficial plans of colonization carried into effect. Some of the ablest men of their day were the leaders in England's first schemes of colonization. Foremost among these stands the name of Raleigh, a man whose varied and extraordinary gifts have rarely been surpassed by the greatest men of any age or country. In him we behold the highest virtues of the soldier, the statesman, and the man of letters combined. His calm courage, self-possession, and unconquerable perseverance, admirably fitted him to be the founder of a colony. With him were associated Ralph Lane, Sir Richard Grenville, Cavendish the great navigator, and Harriot, the inventor of the system of notation in modern algebra. Under the guidance of such leaders, the first English colonists of America reached the Virginian coast, and proceeded to explore the country they had taken possession of. Lane thus described the first impressions of the colonists, after they had examined the region wherein they proposed to build and plant, and establish themselves as the founders of a great colony :—' It is the goodliest soil under the cope of heaven ; the most pleasing territory of the world ; the continent is of a huge and unknown greatness, and very well peopled and towned, though savagely. The climate is so

wholesome, that we have not one sick since we touched the land. If Virginia had but horses and kine, and were inhabited with English, no realm in Christendom were comparable to it.”*

Such is the glowing description, furnished by one of the colonists, of the land of promise which they had gone to take possession of. No wonder that disappointment speedily followed. Lane, and the whole body of the Virginian settlers precipitately deserted “the paradise of the world,” and when the first ship, despatched by Raleigh from England to his new colony, arrived, laden with all needful stores and provisions for the infant settlement, they searched in vain for the sanguine dreamers, who had pictured in such extravagant terms the possessions won by them in the New World. Raleigh was not discouraged by the failure of this attempt at the colonization of Virginia. He learned wisdom from experience, and even thus early adopted the policy on which alone the true basis of successful colonization has ever been founded. The golden dreams which deluded the first European colonists of America were akin, alike in object and results, to the old alchymist’s search for the philosopher’s stone. The painful alchymist lost not only the gold he was in search of, but the wealth of knowledge and of substantial commercial treasure which the researches of modern chemistry have disclosed; and in like manner the Spanish colonists slighted the treasures of a genial climate and a fertile soil, while chasing the phantom of an illusive “land of gold.” The superior wisdom and sagacity of Raleigh were manifested by the adoption of a totally different policy. “He determined,” says Bancroft, “to plant an agricultural state; to send emigrants with wives and families, who should at once make their homes in the New World; and, that life and property might be secured, he granted a charter of incorporation for the settlement, and established a municipal government for the city of Raleigh. The company, as it embarked, was cheered by the presence of women; and an ample provision of the implements of husbandry gave a pledge for successful industry.”†

The Planting
of Virginia.

* Ralph Lane, in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 311.

† Bancroft’s History of the United States, vol. I. p. 43.

CHAP. I.

It is not our object to follow out these early schemes for the colonization of America, in which the courage and enterprise of Englishmen were displayed in defiance of the selfishness or the timidity of their rulers, and the Saxon race was firmly planted in the western hemisphere. Other motives than commercial enterprise or the base lust for gold, were destined to plant amid the wilds of the New World the germs of free institutions, and the rudiments of that great nation which is rapidly extending over a vast continent the descendants of the old Anglo-Saxon race.

CHAPTER II.

THE PIONEERS OF LIBERTY.

True liberty is still the birth of time,
 And springeth up, for all that tyrants whet
 Their pitiful ingenuity, to fret
 The bud upshooting through the frosty rime;
 That, for their pruning, doth the higher climb.
 Spreading a leafy bower, wherein, elate,
 The world shall yet rejoice, as consecrate
 To virtues flourishing therein sublime.
 Quit ye as men, be true then, who would fight
 In this so holy cause; think ye a soul
 Weighed down by beggarly lusts can have a right
 To urge God's ark of freedom to its goal?
 They must be holy who're ordained to be
 The high-priests of a people's liberty.

D. WILSON.

CHAP. II.

Rise of the
 Puritans.

It is not necessary for our plan that we should follow out here the history of the narrow and bigoted policy of the Stuarts, which so largely contributed to the new development of colonization under the Christian exiles of New England. The history of the English Puritans, which forms so large a part of this volume, supplies an accurate and carefully written digest of the annals of nonconformity,

from the pen of one well suited to the task. There the reader will learn of the rise of a small but resolute community of conscientious Nonconformists, in the north of England, towards the close of Queen Elizabeth's reign. Even thus early had these men despaired of effecting such changes in the Church of England as they deemed essential to its purity and accordance with New Testament models, and resolved, "whatever it might cost them, as the Lord's free people, to join themselves by covenant into a church state." Such *English Covenanters* were not confined to this body of Nonconformists in the north, though they peculiarly merit attention; nor are the pilgrim-colonists of England their sole descendants. In the portion of this volume devoted to the history of the Puritans, we trace the like principles maintained with fidelity by many others, in defiance of sufferings and ignominious death. Udal, Copping, Thacker, Johnston, Greenwood, Barrow, and the gentle Penry, "the first, since the last springing of the gospel in this latter age, that publicly laboured to have the blessed seed thereof sown in those barren mountains of Wales;" all these, and many more brave confessors, endured imprisonment and ignominious death in the struggle for a pure church in England. The object they aimed at, though not always distinctly understood by themselves, was the separation from the church of those secular elements which the peculiar forms established under the royal reformers of England's ecclesiastical polity, had riveted more securely even than under the papal sway. They sought to establish the law, within their own sphere, at least, and by their example, that membership in a Christian church could pertain, of right, only to men of Christian character; that its ministers must, of necessity, be alone Christian men.

Such were the principles which excited the indignation of Queen Elizabeth and her subservient courtiers, as well indeed they might. Henry VIII. overthrew the dominion of the Pope of Rome in England, only that he might establish in his person a pope of her own; and Elizabeth, the last of the Tudors, was not a whit behind her despotic sire. She valued her ecclesiastical, even more than her civil supremacy, and looked upon those who laid claim to greater liberty of conscience than it suited her arbitrary

Queen Elizabeth's supremacy.

CHAP. II. will to concede to them, as rebels who were leagu-
 ing to wrest from her the most valued half of her empire. Queen Elizabeth derived these opinions no less from her education than from the almost universally received dogmas of the period ; nor was she countenanced in them alone by the subservient and courtly priests of the dominant church. Such men as Cartwright and Udal, the Fathers of English Presbyterianism, were scarcely less inimical to the more enlarged views advocated by Robert Brown, and afterwards more consistently by Robinson and others, than the most pliant churchmen of the Court. It was only when the cruelty of the legal oppressions to which these early Protestant confessors were subjected, roused the natural instincts of humanity to protest against the excesses of legal oppression, that the Government met with any check to its tyranny. The peculiarity of Queen Elizabeth's position, however, is worthy of special notice, as supplying an important element in the source of such proceedings. To the Roman Catholic subjects of the English crown Henry VIII., Edward, Elizabeth, James, and Charles, appeared alike as usurpers of the prerogative of the Supreme Pontiff when they claimed to themselves the spiritual supremacy, as head of the Church, which had formerly belonged to him, and still remains an ill-defined anomaly among the royal prerogatives of England. But Queen Elizabeth was not only an intruder on the papal prerogative,—in the eyes of English Roman Catholics she was an illegitimate descendant of the profligate Henry VIII., and utterly incapacitated from succeeding to his throne ; nor can the legal casuist who calmly investigates the whole history of Henry's intercourse with the fair maid of honour of his first Queen, deny that the English Catholic had reason on his side. Queen Elizabeth was accordingly placed in a false position, which, while it bound her by indissoluble ties to the Protestant cause, incited her to guard with peculiar jealousy those prerogatives which had been wrested from the Pope. When the Roman Catholic challenged her spiritual supremacy, she regarded him as no less distinctly denying her legitimacy, and pronouncing her a usurper ; and when, at the very opposite extreme of religious parties, the conscientious Congregationalist demurred at the constitution of the

The peculiar position.

state-church, he was placed in the same category with the protesting Catholic, and looked upon and treated as a rebel.

The accession of the vain and weak pedant, James VI., while it removed the possibility of challenging the legitimacy of the succession, in no way affected the opinions it had given rise to. That imbecile monarch clung with no less pertinacity to the prejudices than to the assumed prerogatives of his predecessor ; and the claimant of liberty of conscience was equally subjected, under his reign, as in that of Elizabeth, to all the penalties of open rebellion.

Accession of
the Stuarts.

It was at the very close of Queen Elizabeth's long and prosperous reign, that these humble and little-noticed pioneers of religious liberty in England found the yoke of bondage too galling to be longer endured. With patience worthy of the followers of Him who endured for us all the indignities and wrongs that the enmity of sinful nature and devilish malice could devise, they had borne confiscations, imprisonments, mutilations, and cruel deaths, not only without murmuring, but with uncomplaining and even thankful submission. Henry Barrow, the son of a gentleman of good estate in Norfolk, had united with his old friend and fellow-student at Cambridge, Mr John Greenwood, in holding secret assemblies for religious worship in Islington,—then a quiet village, at some distance from the English capital. It is a place memorable in the history of the English sufferers for conscience' sake. It was a retreat of the persecuted Protestants while Mary's martyr fires raged in Smithfield, and kindling piles were preaching to thousands throughout England with stronger eloquence than the voices they were destined to quench. In Elizabeth's and James's reigns we frequently find it the chosen shelter of persecuted Nonconformity ; and in the lives of the ejected ministers of St. Bartholomew's day, it is no less often referred to, as the refuge of the persecuted Puritans of the Restoration Government. It was, in fact, the first stage in the pilgrimage of those who at length found a final resting-place beyond the Atlantic.

The first
stage of the
pilgrims.

Both Barrow and Greenwood were apprehended in consequence of these Islington meetings, and committed to the dungeons of Newgate : their crime was forming churches and conducting religious worship contrary to law ; and to

Noncon-
formist con-
fessors.

CHAP. II.

this was added the charge of impugning the Queen's prerogative of spiritual supremacy. They were condemned to the gallows. Conveyed to Tyburn, and with the rope round their necks, these brave confessors held fast to the faith and doctrines they had professed as the true teaching of the Holy Scriptures; but they declared their unshaken loyalty to the Queen, and their fidelity to the Government, expressing unfeigned sorrow if they had ever been betrayed into any expression of irreverence or undue freedom against those in authority over them. They prayed for the Queen, for their country, and for all who had borne a part in their sufferings and condemnation. It was with their dying breath. They were about to close their eyes on all earthly things, when suddenly a reprieve was announced. Her Majesty had interposed her royal prerogative of mercy, and they were led back to Newgate amid the shouts and acclamations of the populace. The bitterness of death was past. The captives wrote to Elizabeth, urging that their loyalty could no longer be doubted, since they had maintained it when they believed all hope was vain, and beseeching her, at the least, to interpose on their behalf, and mitigate the rigour of their imprisonment in the loathsome dungeons of Newgate. But the royal reprieve was a heartless mockery. These Christian men, who with their last breath, as they believed, had prayed for the Queen of England, and called down the blessings of Heaven on her throne and kingdom, were secretly led back on the morrow to the same spot where they had before so bravely faced death, and executed with the ignominy of felons. In like manner the noble-hearted young Welshman, John Penry, was hurried to the scaffold. In closing the final protest, which he addressed to the Lord Treasurer, rather with the desire of vindicating his character than from any hope of mercy, he thus writes: "Subscribed with the heart and the hand, which never devised or wrote any thing to the discredit or defamation of my sovereign, Queen Elizabeth, I take it on my death as I hope to have a life after this; by me, John Penry." But the martyr, while bravely bowing his head to the cruel blow, could not forget the ties that bound him to life. He was sustained by the consciousness of innocence and the prospect of heaven; but his heart

yearned over the young wife and infant children, whom he must leave desolate in their sorrow. Assured, from his own sad experience, that his brethren could entertain no hope of justice or liberty of conscience from the tribunals that had condemned him to death, he penned a letter "to the distressed and faithful congregation of Christ in London," which is characterized by the same simple and touching eloquence as his address to the Lord Treasurer, and by the love, strong in death, of a faithful heart. In this he anticipates the distant refuge of the Pilgrim Fathers, urging them to forsake their country and seek, in some foreign land, the liberty to worship God; and then he adds: "I humbly beseech you, not in any outward regard, as I shall answer before my God, that you would take my poor and desolate widow, and my mess of fatherless and friendless orphans, with you into exile, whithersoever you go, and you shall find, I doubt not, that the blessed promises of my God, made unto me and mine, will accompany them, and even the whole church for their sakes; for this also is the Lord's promise unto the holy seed."

The ties of country are strong, and the stroke that severs them is a harsh and cruel one, whatever be the necessity that drives the exile forth. Even the children of Israel, though their lives had been made bitter with cruel bondage, were loath to leave Goshen, wherein the patriarch had established their fathers, as in a chosen and fertile land. Their cry had already gone up to heaven, and yet it required the aggravation of still crueller oppressions ere the thousands of Israel went forth, with their little ones, their flocks and herds, and sought a home by the way of the wilderness beyond the sea. But the rulers of England would not let the sufferers rest. Imprisonments, with attendant miseries crueller than death itself, penalties, confiscations, and wrongs of every kind, at length filled up the cup of their sorrows. Their state in England had become unendurable, and the long-persecuted sufferers began very generally to look upon voluntary exile as their sole refuge.

The ties of country.

But, in the estimation of England's rulers, even voluntary exile had become a crime. To live in England as Nonconformists was to live with the loathsome dungeon and the gallows ever in view; to leave it was at the risk of preci-

The crime of expatriation.

CHAP. II.

Escape of the
first pilgrims.

pitating the fate which they attempted to avert. It is only a little more than two centuries since Englishmen were compelled to choose between such an alternative. "Even this course," says Dr. Vaughan, in a well-written article on the Pilgrim Fathers, "was beset with difficulty. They could escape only by secret means; to be detected was to fall into the snare they were so much concerned to avoid. But the thought of the religious freedom which might be enjoyed in Holland was so welcome, that for that object numbers became willing to bear the pains of separation from their native land, and to brave the dangers of attempting to withdraw from it. Many made that attempt with success, but some were less fortunate. An instance of the latter kind is recorded in the history of Robinson, a clergyman, who had embraced the principles of the Brownists, but who so far modified those principles on some points as to bring them more into the form of modern congregationalism, and who, on that account, is generally regarded as the father of the English Independents. Robinson, and a large company, contracted with the master of a ship for a passage to Holland. They were to embark at Boston, in Lincolnshire, on a certain day, and from a point agreed upon. The captain was not punctual. At length, however, the vessel arrived, and, under cover of the night, the men, and women, and children, all reached the ship in safety. But the captain was a villain. He betrayed them to the officers of the port. The passengers and their goods were immediately removed from the vessel to several boats in waiting to receive them. All their property was turned over and examined, and not a little of it rifled. The persons of the men were searched, 'even to their shirts,' and the women were treated with indelicacy and rudeness. When these unhappy people reached the town, crowds assembled to gaze upon them, and many mocked and derided them. Nor was their condition improved when brought before the magistrates. Several were bound over to the assizes, and all were committed to prison. Some were released after the confinement of a few weeks, others after a longer period.

Failure of
Robinson's
band.

"This happened in 1602. In the following spring, Robinson and his friends resolved on making a second attempt

of this nature. They made an arrangement for this purpose with a Dutch captain; and their plan now was, that the men should assemble on a large common, between Grimsby and Hull, a place chosen on account of its remoteness from any town; while the women, the children, and the property of these parties, were to be conveyed to that point of the coast in a barque. The men made their way to the place of rendezvous, in small companies, by land. But the barque reached its destination a day before the ship. The swell of the sea was considerable, and as the females were suffering greatly from that cause, the sailors ran the barque into the shelter of a small creek. The next morning the ship arrived, but through some negligence on the part of the seamen, the vessel containing the women, their little ones, and the property, had run aground. The men stood in groups on the shore, and that no time might be lost, the captain of the ship sent his boat to convey some of them on board. But by this time, so considerable a gathering of people in such a place, and in a manner so unusual, had attracted attention; information had been conveyed to persons of authority in the neighbourhood; and as the boat which had taken the greater part of the men to the ship was proceeding again towards the shore, the captain saw a large company, armed with swords and muskets, and consisting of horse and foot, advancing towards the point where the barque was still ashore, and where the few remaining men had grouped together. Fearing the consequences of his illicit compact, the captain returned to the ship, hoisted sail, and was speedily at sea. Robinson—honest and able general as he was in every sense—had resolved to be the last to embark. He was a witness, accordingly, of the scene of distress and agony which ensued. The outburst of grief was not to be restrained. Some of the women wept aloud, others felt too deeply, or were too much bewildered, to indulge in utterance of any kind; while the children, partly from seeing what had happened, and partly from a vague impression that something dreadful had come, mingled their sobs and cries in the general lamentation. As the sail of that ship faded away upon the distant waters, the wives felt as if one stroke had reduced them all to widowhood, and every child that had reached the years

Sufferings of
those left
behind.

CHAP. II. of consciousness, felt as one who in a moment had become fatherless. But thus dark are the chapters in human affairs in which the good have often to become students, and from which they have commonly had to learn their special lessons. The ship soon encountered foul weather, and after being driven far along the coast of Norway, all hope of saving her being at one time abandoned, she at length safely reached Holland."*

Escape of
Robinson
and his
company.

Such was the fate of those who were foremost in the *guilt* of seeking to escape from persecution. But even to the servile magistrates of King James, it seemed monstrous to punish and imprison wives and children for no other crime than that of seeking to accompany their husbands and fathers. They could not send them home, for they had no home left in England; and at length, after enduring much misery, they were left to go whither they pleased. Persecution had become generally odious by its excesses; and during the reaction which followed, Robinson and the remainder of his company succeeded in escaping from their native land, and, early in the year 1608, the English exiles effected a settlement at Leyden.

CHAPTER III.

LOVE OF COUNTRY.

By the gathering round the winter hearth,
When twilight called unto household mirth;
By the fairy tale or the legend old
In that ring of happy faces told,
By the quiet hour when hearts unite,
In the parting prayer and the kind "good night;"
By the smiling eye and the loving tone,
Over thy life has the spell been thrown.

HEMANS.

CHAP. III. DURING eleven years the English exiles lived together in Leyden in peace and harmony. Their leader, John Robin-

* British Quarterly Review, vol. i. p. 15.

son, was a man of devout piety, and of great learning and judgment. The fame of their virtues and worth attracted numbers from England, and won the respect of the people among whom they had sought a home. "The church under the care of Robinson," says Dr. Vaughan, "increased until it numbered more than three hundred members, consisting almost wholly of English exiles. Robinson himself was greatly respected by the clergy of Leyden, and by the professors in the university, and on more than one occasion the pastor of the congregational church in that city gave public proof that his piety, his amiableness, and his eminently practical understanding, were allied with sound scholarship, and with much intellectual vigour and acuteness. He succeeded also, in communicating much of his own well-regulated temper to his charge. We have good reason to believe that no church in Europe in that age exhibited more of the wise simplicity of a primitive church, or more of that correctness of habit by which we suppose the primitive churches to have been distinguished."

England had proved so cruel a step-mother that it might have been thought no difficult matter to wean these exiles from the strong love of their native land. But these superstitions of the heart, as they have been happily styled, are not to be subjected to the cold formulas of reason. Common sympathies had attracted the emigrants to Holland. In the long struggle with Spain that country had been the barrier of northern Europe against despotism and religious intolerance. England had often been her ally, and garri-
Attractions
of Holland.
soned her walled towns with the island Protestants; and when at length the Spanish influence was utterly overthrown in the Low Countries, an ecclesiastical discipline had been established which the English Nonconformists regarded with a favour they could not concede to the hierarchial constitution of the Church of England. There was much, therefore, in the circumstances of the period, to point out Holland as the fittest refuge for the English exiles. Nor were they disappointed. Hundreds found there the peace and liberty of conscience they were denied at home. But they felt themselves as strangers in a strange land, and sighed for old scenes familiar and dear to them from many fond associations.

CHAP. III.
 Sympathy of
 their suc-
 cessors.

The annals of the Pilgrim Fathers naturally excite the liveliest interest among their American descendants and successors. With the excusable pride of a new people, emigrants who have hardly lost the provincial *patois* of some rural district of England or of Germany, boast of the fathers of New England as the root of their family tree; and even the calmer annalist overlooks the legitimate inferences from the evidence at command when treating of 'this favourite theme. Bancroft, the historian of the United States, strangely enough, describes these exiles for conscience' sake as "restless, from the consciousness of ability to act a more important part on the theatre of the world. The career of maritime discovery," he adds, "had been pursued with daring intrepidity, and rewarded with brilliant success. The voyages of Gosnold, and Smith, and Hudson; the enterprise of Raleigh, and Delaware, and Gorges; the compilations of Eden, and Willes, and Hakluyt, had filled the commercial world with wonder."*

Motives for
 leaving
 Holland.

The reader may be pardoned if he smile at the republican historian when he describes the home-sick exiles of Leyden, as impatient to play their part in "the great drama of humanity!" as he has elsewhere styled it. The gentle English poetess has caught the source of their actions with truer inspiration, when she exclaims:—

"What sought they thus afar?
 Bright jewels of the mine?
 The wealth of seas, the spoils of war?—
 They sought a faith's pure shrine!"

The American historian assigns juster motives, however, for the final decision of the Pilgrims to abandon their foreign resting-place, and found a new home under the government of their native land. "Weighty reasons, often and seriously discussed, inclined the Pilgrims to change their abode. They had been bred to the pursuits of husbandry, and in Holland they were compelled to learn mechanical trades; Brewster became a printer; Bradford, who had been educated as a farmer, learned the art of dyeing silk. The language of the Dutch never became pleasantly familiar; and their manners still less so. The climate was not grateful to the aged; and close occupation in mechanical trades was detrimental to the young. The

* Bancroft's Hist. U. S. vol. i. p. 303.

dissoluteness of the disbanded soldiers and mariners, who had grown licentious in the recent wars, filled the English with anxiety, lest their children should become contaminated; and they were moved by an enlightened desire of improving their condition—the honourable ambition of becoming the founders of a state.

‘Upon their talk of removing, sundry of the Dutch would have them go under them, and made them large offers;’ but the Pilgrims were attached to their nationality as Englishmen, and to the language of their line. A secret, but deeply-seated love of their country led them to the generous purpose of recovering the protection of England by enlarging her dominions. They were ‘restless’ with the desire to live once more under the government of their native land.

And whither should they go to acquire a province for King James! The beautiful fertility and immeasurable wealth of Guiana had been exhibited in dazzling colours by the brilliant eloquence of Raleigh. But the terrors of the tropical climate, the wavering pretensions of England to the soil, and the proximity of bigoted Catholics, led them rather to look towards Virginia; and Robert Cushman and John Carver repaired to England to obtain consent of the London company to their emigration. The envoys were favourably received; and a patent, and ample liberties were cheerfully promised. Assured of the special approbation of Sir Edwin Sandys, they declined completing their negotiation till they could consult the multitude with whose interests they were intrusted. The Pilgrims, following the principles of democratic liberty, transmitted to the company their request, signed by the hands of the greatest part of the congregation. ‘We are well weaned,’ added Robinson and Brewster, ‘from the delicate milk of our mother country, and inured to the difficulties of a strange land; the people are industrious and frugal. We are knit together as a body in a most sacred covenant of the Lord, of the violation whereof we make great conscience, and by virtue whereof we hold ourselves straitly tied to all care of each other’s good, and of the whole. It is not with us as with men whom small things can discourage.’”*

Proposed
emigration
to Virginia.

* Bancroft’s Hist. U. S. vol. I. p. 303.

CHAP. III.

True motives
of the emi-
grants.

Weightier and nobler motives than the vanity of unsatisfied ambition moved these Christian exiles to seek a home for themselves and their children beyond the Atlantic ; nor was the feeling of loyalty without its influence on their generous spirits ; that loyalty which springs from the unquenchable love of country, which neither time nor distance can overcome. A republican writer will hardly, perhaps, venture to analyze the feelings which prompted the wronged and persecuted exiles still to speak with pride, in the land of the stranger, of the King of England as their "natural Prince." Cruel as were the wrongs which they had received from King James, and hopeless as they were of any amelioration of the condition of English Nonconformists, they nevertheless shrunk from the thought of their children becoming the subjects of a foreign crown. England, with all her faults, was still their native land, and the love they bore her only deepened amid the strange aspects of their foreign shelter, and proved itself unquenchable. The spirit which moved them to seek an abiding home was the very opposite of that restless ambition, which the republican historian deems essential to the founders of the state of New England. Their motives were far more generous and noble. The desire for peace induced them to leave Amsterdam in 1609, after they had lived there about a year, although, says Governor Bradford in his History of Plymouth Colony, "they well knew it would be much to the prejudice of their outward estate, both at present, and, in all likelihood, in the future ; as indeed it proved to be." The old historian, after enlarging on the attractions of Leyden, as "a fair and beautiful city, and of a sweet situation," adds of it, "but wanting that traffic by sea which Amsterdam enjoyed, it was not so beneficial for their outward means of living and estates. But being now here pitched, they fell to such trades and employments as they best could, valuing peace and their spiritual comfort above any other riches whatsoever ; and at length they came to raise a competent and comfortable living, and with hard and continual labour. Being thus settled, after many difficulties, they continued many years in a comfortable condition, enjoying much sweet and delightful society and spiritual comfort together, in the ways of God, under the able ministry and prudent govern-

ment of Mr. John Robinson and Mr. William Brewster, who was an assistant unto him in the place of an elder, unto which he was now called and chosen by the church; so as they grew in knowledge and other gifts and graces of the Spirit of God; and lived together in peace, and love, and holiness. And many came unto them from divers parts of England, so as they grew a great congregation. And if at any time any differences did arise or offences broke out, (as it cannot be but that sometimes there will, even amongst the best of men,) they were ever so met with and nipped in the head betimes, or otherwise so well composed, as still love, peace, and communion was continued, or else the church purged of those that were incurable and incorrigible, when, after much patience used, no other means would serve; which seldom comes to pass.

CHAP. III.
Character of
Robinson.

“Yea, such was the mutual love and reciprocal respect that this worthy man had to his flock, and his flock to him, that it might be said of them, as it was once said of that famous emperor, Marcus Aurelius, and the people of Rome, that it was hard to judge whether he delighted more in having such a people, or they in having such a pastor. His love was great towards them, and his care was always bent for their best good, both for soul and body. For, besides his singular abilities in divine things, wherein he excelled, he was able also to give direction in civil affairs, and to foresee dangers and inconveniences; by which means he was very helpful to their outward estates; and so was every way as a common father unto them.”*

Love of his
flock.

The magistrates of the city bore honourable testimony to their virtuous and peaceable lives during the years they sojourned among them; and when they spoke of seeking a place of final settlement in the New World, “sundry of the Dutch would have them go under them, and made them large offers.” But England was still the home of their hearts, and its institutions a birthright derived from their fathers, which they would not willingly forego. They dreaded “that their posterity would in a few generations become Dutch, and so lose their interest in the English nation,” while love rather than ambition prompted the de-

Testimony to
this charac-
ter.

CHAP. III. sire "to enlarge his Majesty's dominions, and to live under their natural prince."

Negotiations
with the Vir-
ginia Com-
pany.

Negotiations were immediately entered into with the Virginia Company, and even the favour of the King was sought to be conciliated, but in vain. Their generous and unquenchable loyalty met with no like response. It was in the year 1618, that the messengers from the exiles at Leyden were received by the London merchants, who controlled the direction of the Virginia Company. Until four years preceding this, the whole extent of country between Florida and Canada was loosely comprehended under the name of Virginia; but in 1614, the name of New England began to be generally applied to the northern portion. Two companies had been chartered by James to colonize the country, and empowered to effect regular and permanent settlements, extending to an hundred miles inland. The one of these merchant companies was in London, the other in Plymouth, and it was with the latter that the Pilgrims of Leyden negotiated their scheme of colonization. The enterprise had already been maturely weighed. Solemn days of humiliation had been set apart, in which they sought divine guidance by united prayer; and at length it had been resolved, "that part of the church should go before their brethren into America, to prepare for the rest. And if in case the major part of the church should choose to go over with the first, then the pastor should go along with them; but if the major part stayed, that he should then stay with them."

Arrange-
ments for the
new colony.

The church at Leyden had good reason to look up with confidence to their generous guide, who was indeed a pastor to that little flock. He appears to have been a man of the most noble and disinterested heroism, whose abilities fitted him to shine in a far more conspicuous station, had he not chosen rather to cast in his lot with the people of God. But like Moses, he was only to guide them through the wilderness, and behold the promised land from afar. Delays and difficulties yielded before the persevering exertions of the expectant colonists. Their property was sold and converted into a common stock, not, however, as Robertson the historian affirms, "under the influence of a wild notion of imitating the primitive Christians," but as an arrangement

into which they were necessarily forced by the nature of their negotiations with the English Company of Merchants, on whose co-operation they mainly depended for success. Their first expenditure from this fund was in the purchase of the *Speedwell*, a small vessel of 60 tons. In this the brethren who had formed the deputation to England, returned when their negotiations were completed. Landing at Delft Haven, they thence proceeded to Leyden, and reported their success. A patent had been obtained for the emigrants under the Company's seal, which secured their civil rights and ample liberty of worship, along with some prospect of worldly comfort; though in the latter respect the Merchant Company had dictated terms wherein more respect was paid to their own profit, than to the interests of those who were to risk all in the attempt.

In addition to the *Speedwell*, which the intending emigrants had purchased in order to retain possession of it for the service of the colony, the *Mayflower*, a ship of 180 tons, was hired in London to sail in company with it, and to bear the chief portion of the emigrants. The limited accommodation which could be afforded in these vessels, admitted of only a minority of the congregation at Leyden proceeding to their new destination; and Robinson therefore remained behind. The parting between these pioneers and their brethren was a most touching scene. The time had come at length. Nearly the whole congregation, old men, women, and children, accompanied the emigrants from Leyden to Delft Haven, and spent the last night in friendly converse and prayer. They were to see their beloved pastor's face no more, and doubtless the anticipation that such might be, added not a little to the natural shrinking from the perils they were about to face. At parting, Robinson addressed to them the most affectionate and earnest councils, characterized by a spirit of enlightened judgment and true liberality, such as was rare indeed in that age. "Brethren," said he, "we are now quickly to part from one another, and whether I may ever live to see your face on earth any more, the God of heaven only knows; but whether the Lord has appointed that or no, I charge you, before God and his blessed angels, that you follow me no further than you have seen me follow the Lord Jesus Christ.

The Mayflower hired

Parting address.

CHAP. III.

"If God reveal anything to you by any other instrument of his, be as ready to receive it as ever you were to receive any truth by my ministry; for I am verily persuaded the Lord has more truth yet to break forth out of his holy word. For my part, I cannot sufficiently bewail the condition of the Reformed Churches, who are come to a period in religion, and will go at present no further than the instruments of their reformation. The Lutherans cannot be drawn to go beyond what Luther saw; whatever part of his will our good God has revealed to Calvin, they will rather die than embrace it. And the Calvinists, you see, stick fast where they were left by that great man of God, who yet saw not all things.

"This is a misery much to be lamented, for though they were burning and shining lights in their times, yet they penetrated not into the whole council of God; but were they now living, would be as willing to embrace further light as that which they first received, for it is not possible the Christian world should come so lately out of such thick Antichristian darkness, and that perfection of knowledge should break forth at once."

Parting at
Delft Haven.

In the same noble spirit, Robinson wrote to the band of New England emigrants ere they finally sailed for their destination, urging upon them motives of action which afford us the best evidence of the principles by which they were actuated. It was a small and feeble company who were thus committing themselves to the wide waste of waters, and to the wilderness beyond; but there were brave and true men among them, whose names are now mentioned with pride in the populous cities of New England. "As morning dawned," says Bancroft, after the night of parting passed by them at Delft Haven, in Christian converse and prayer, "Carver, Bradford, and Winslow, Brewster the ruling elder, Allerton, and the brave and faithful Standish, with their equal associates,—a feeble band for a perilous enterprise,—bade farewell to Holland; while Robinson, kneeling in prayer by the sea-side, gave to their embarkation the sanctity of a religious rite. A prosperous wind soon wafts the vessel to Southampton, and, in a fortnight, the Mayflower and the Speedwell, freighted with the first colony for New England, leave Southampton for Ame-

rica. But they had not gone far upon the Atlantic before the smaller vessel was found to need repairs ; and they enter the port of Dartmouth. After the lapse of eight precious days, they again weigh anchor ; the coast of England recedes ; already they are unfurling their sails on the broad ocean, when the captain of the *Speedwell*, with his company, dismayed at the dangers of the enterprise, once more pretend that his ship is too weak for the service. They put back to Plymouth, to dismiss their treacherous companions, though the loss of the vessel was ‘ very grievous and discouraging.’ The timid and the hesitating were all freely allowed to abandon the expedition. Having thus winnowed their numbers of the cowardly and disaffected, the little band, not of resolute men only, but wives, some far gone in pregnancy, children, infants, a floating village, yet, in all, but one hundred and one souls, went on board the single ship, which was hired only to convey them across the Atlantic ; and, on the sixth day of September, 1620, thirteen years after the first colonization of Virginia, two months before the concession of the grand charter of Plymouth, without any warrant from the sovereign of England, without any useful charter from a corporate body, the passengers in the *Mayflower* set sail for a new world, where the past could offer no favourable auguries.

Abandon-
ment of the
Speedwell

“ Had New England been colonized immediately on the discovery of the American continent, the old English institutions would have been planted under the powerful influence of the Roman Catholic religion ; had the settlement been made under Elizabeth, it would have been before activity of the popular mind in religion had conducted to a corresponding activity of mind in politics. The Pilgrims were Englishmen, Protestants, exiles for religion ; men disciplined by misfortune, cultivated by opportunities of extensive observation, equal in rank as in rights, and bound by no code but that which was imposed by religion, or might be created by the public will.”*

The difficulties seemed enough to daunt the stoutest heart ; but the exiles were strong in the courage supplied by noble principles and a pure faith ; and if these had failed them, had they not even the courage of despair ? Whither

Courage of
the exiles.

CHAP. III. — were these poor outcast children of England to go, if not onward, even amid such dangers. The all that they possessed was with them, and their only hope lay beyond the terrors of the Atlantic. But God's eye was over them, and his dealings seemed as the winnowing of Gideon's band,—
 "It shall be that of whom I say unto thee, This shall go with thee, the same shall go with thee; and of whomsoever I say unto thee, this shall not go with thee, the same shall not go." These, indeed, were the true founders of a colony, the elements from whence a great nation might arise, and return upon the Old World the influences of the noble principles in which it found being.

CHAPTER IV

THE LAND OF PROMISE.

Not as the flying come,
 In silence and in fear,—
 They shook the depths of the desert gloom
 With their hymns of lofty cheer.
 Amid the storm they sang,
 And the stars heard and the sea!
 And the sounding aisles of the dim woods rang
 To the anthem of the free.

HERMANS.

CHAP. IV. — THE pioneers of civilization, who bear the seeds of future colonies and kingdoms to distant lands, require, under the most favourable circumstances, the utmost courage, firmness, and self-denial; and never were such virtues more eminently required than among the wandering outcasts whom the little Mayflower was bearing to the New England shores. On the 22d of July, 1620, they had taken their last farewell look on the fond group of brethren and friends who knelt on the shore, and commended them to the protection and favour of Heaven. The vessel weighed anchor and stood to sea under a smiling sky and favouring breeze

and soon the receding sail faded before the eyes of these faithful watchers, and disappeared on the faint blue line of the distant horizon. Wives were there, and children ; the young, the sanguine, and hopeful ; old men, too, were there, and some who looked forward with doubt and fear even under the smiling skies and prosperous breeze ;—how must their hearts have sunk within them when weeks and months passed over, and found them still far from the goal of hope ? It was the sixth of September ere the Mayflower at length sailed from Plymouth, and the Pilgrim Fathers saw the headlands of Old England fade for ever from their sight. The Old World had cast them forth ; it was with no cheering welcome that the New World received her adopted **SONS.**

Nevertheless the eye of God was upon them, and his good providence had prepared for them the chosen land. From amid the convenient harbours, and the majestic bays and estuaries with which the coasts of America abound, the Pilgrims had chosen for their destined home the mouth of the river Hudson, where now the wealth of every quarter of the globe is borne by native sails. But a less hospitable coast had been chosen for them, where they should rear their tabernacle in the wilderness. After a long and stormy voyage of sixty-three days, during which the emigrants had endured great sufferings, and one had died, the anxious outlookers were gladdened by the sight of land.

The chosen
land.

Fresh difficulties perplexed the wanderers as they touched the shores of the New World. The place of their destination was the Hudson River, which lay to the south, and the patent which they had obtained under the Virginia Company's seal, at considerable cost, and after long vexation and delay, was of less value, in that northern latitude, than the sheep-skin on which it was engrossed. But the land seemed to the weary voyagers to smile in welcome. The place of their intended settlement was one of the most fertile and convenient along the whole Atlantic sea-board, and, whether from treachery or ignorance, their captain had guided them to one of the least inviting portions of the coast. But the Pilgrims yielded to the natural impulse of the tempest-tost wanderer at the sight of the green earth. "The appearance of it," says Governor Bradford, "much comforted us.

CHAP. IV. especially seeing so goodly a land, and wooded to the brink of the sea, it caused us to rejoice together, and praise God that had given us again to see land." Nevertheless, they were not inclined to overlook the risks which they must incur by forfeiting the privileges of the charter it had cost them so much labour and difficulty to procure ; and after they had gratified themselves by setting foot on the New World, towards which their hopes had so long been turned, they resolved to endeavour still to reach their destined settlement. "The pilgrims," says Vaughan, "as they reached the shore, fell upon their knees, and blessed the God of heaven who had brought them over the vast and furious ocean, and delivered them from many perils and miseries. It is not too much to say, that in that first prayer from the soil of the New World, ascending from so feeble a brotherhood amidst a wilderness so desolate, there were the seeds of a new civilization for mankind, the elements of all freedom for all nations, and the power which in its turn shall regenerate all the empires of the earth. Half a day was thus spent. The Pilgrims then urged the captain to pursue his course southward. But the Dutch had resolved to establish settlements of their own in those parts, and had bribed the commander to frustrate the purpose of the colonists in that respect. This he did by entangling the ship amidst shoals and breakers, instead of putting out to sea, and foul weather coming on in the early part of the second day, they were driven back to Cape Cod. It was now the middle of November. The shelter offered at the Cape was inviting. The captain became impatient to dispose of his company and return. He admonished them that nothing should induce him to expose himself and his men to the hazard of wanting provisions. Unless they meant, therefore, that he should at once set them and their goods on shore and leave them to their course, it would behove them to adopt their own measures and to act upon them without delay. They knew that the documents they had brought with them from England gave them no authority to attempt a settlement on the land now before them. But the plea of necessity was upon them, and was more than enough to justify them in selecting a home wherever it might be found. The voyage had reduced most of them to a weak and sickly condition.

The wild country, as they gazed upon it from their ship, was seen to be covered with thickets and dense woods, and already wore the aspect of winter. No medical aid awaited them on that shore, no friendly greetings, but hardship and danger in every form. They felt that their safety, and such poor comfort as might be left to them, must depend on their power to confide in God and in each other. Hence, before they left the *Mayflower*, they constituted themselves as subjects of their 'dread sovereign lord King James,' into a body politic, and bound themselves to such obedience in all things as the majority should impose."*

American writers are, not unnaturally, inclined to make the most of the independent position thus forced upon the Pilgrim Fathers of New England. The terms of this voluntary political constitution were thus briefly drawn out, and signed by all the men of the party:—"In the name of God, amen; we, whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign King James, having undertaken, for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and honour of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do, by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God, and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof, to enact, constitute, and frame, such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most convenient for the general good of the colony. Unto which we promise all due submission and obedience."

Voluntary
constitution.

This most interesting document is worthy of admiration, not because of any claim which it asserted to the Republican's ideas of the rights of man,—for it is a mere fanciful liberty of speech to characterise it by any such high-sounding terms,—but from the wisdom and sagacity it displayed in these Fathers of the New England state. It was a recognition of the advantages of social union, and of well-defined laws, over the wild liberty of men loosed from all restraint; and it acquires its peculiar value when we re-

CHAP IV. member that the men who thus carefully guarded these fruits of civilization, had been driven forth to this inhospitable wilderness by the oppressive laws of this same "dread sovereign King James," whose loyal subjects they so anxiously strove still to remain.

Opinions of
modern
Americans.

But the aspect in which the self-constituted polity of the Pilgrim Fathers is viewed by the modern American, is not unworthy of notice. The very prejudices of patriotism are sacred, and the fancies that liberty and nationality inspire have a value altogether apart from the severe deductions of the logician. "This instrument," says Bancroft, "was signed by the whole body of men, forty-one in number, who, with their families, constituted the one hundred and one, the whole colony, 'the proper democracy,' that arrived in New England. This was the birth of popular constitutional liberty. The middle ages had been familiar with charters and constitutions; but they had been merely compacts for immunities, partial enfranchisements, patents of nobility, concessions of municipal privileges, or limitations of the sovereign power in favour of feudal institutions. In the cabin of the Mayflower, humanity recovered its rights, and instituted government on the basis of 'equal laws' for the 'general good.' John Carver was immediately and unanimously chosen governor for the year."*

In like terms, Dr. Cheever rejoices over the "unpatented and unfettered" landing of the Pilgrims to take possession of their new homes; though acknowledging that another patent, which included their settlement, had been drawn up and signed ere their landing. "Meanwhile," says he, "the noblemen and gentlemen engaged before in the old patent for North Virginia were seeking a new and separate patent of incorporation for New England, under the style and title of the council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering, and governing of New England, in America, which, says Mr. Prince, is the great and civil basis of all the future patents and plantations that divide this country. This patent they at length obtained from King James; but it was not signed by the King until long after the Pilgrims had set sail, not indeed till November 3, 1620, just before the Mayflower

* Bancroft's Hist. of U. S., vol. 1, p. 310.

anchored in Cape Cod harbour. There the Pilgrims were to land in New England, unchartered by any earthly power, and were to take possession at Plymouth of their desired retreat in the wilderness, in full liberty of conscience, unpatented and unfettered.”*

Years of suffering, perplexity, and fears, had prepared the exiles of Leyden for contentment with a humble resting-place, and tedious months of hardships and disappointments schooled them into moderating their humblest wishes, ere at length they set foot on the New England shores. It seems to be the appointed law of providence to perfect men in the school of suffering, for every great work; and many circumstances had combined to accumulate hardships round these devoted pioneers of civilization. They had parted with their brethren at Delft Haven in the warm month of July, and the bright skies of an early English harvest cheered them as they embarked at Southampton on board the Mayflower. But hope long deferred had made them sick at heart, and the warm breezes of July had been exchanged for the boisterous gales of the Atlantic, ere the weary fugitives stepped on the New England shores just as winter was assuming its keenest severity. They stood between the wilderness and the sea. In doubt and difficulty their leaders strove to explore the coast, with the hope of lighting on some more sheltered and convenient spot whereon to found the first city of refuge for the outcast children of England. But time was pressing; the captain of the Mayflower was impatient to be gone, and no friendly guide appeared to bid them welcome and point them to a haven of rest. No friendly guide,—and yet an unseen hand was there, not unrecognized, amid all their sufferings, by these weary wanderers. God in his good providence, was leading them by a way that they knew not. The chosen spot whereon they were to find rest and the liberty of conscience, in pursuit of which they had braved such perils, was already prepared; even as the land of promise, when “the ark of the covenant of the Lord of all the earth” passed over before them into the Jordan, and the people of Israel entered as an armed host to take possession of their long-promised inheritance.

Schooling of
the Pilgrims.

* The Plymouth Pilgrims, p. 121. New York. 1848.
2 A

CHAPTER V.

THE NEW WORLD.

"There were men with hoary hair,
 Amid that Pilgrim band;
 Why had they come to wither there,
 Away from their childhood's land?
 There was woman's fearless eye,
 Lit by her deep love's truth;
 There was manhood's brow serenely high,
 And the fiery heart of youth.—
 What sought they thus afar?

HEMANS.

CHAP. V. To the bold hunter who sought pleasure as well as profit in
 the toils of the chase, or to the hardy adventurer whom the
 novelties of a strange land had attracted from the Old
 World, there were not wanting romantic incidents on the
 New England coast. But though these have been preserved
 to us in the quaint and graphic descriptions of Governor
 Bradford's Journal, they offered no attractions to the poor
 exiles, cast amid the inclemencies of winter on a bleak and
 inhospitable shore. Nevertheless, they were no body of
 unprincipled adventurers, such as those who had landed on
 the shores of Virginia during the previous reign, in expect-
 ation of possessing the golden treasures with which the
 New World was reputed to abound. In the "Chronicles
 of the Pilgrims," we find evidence enough that they had
 counted the cost before leaving the shores of Europe.
 "Some," says the contemporary annalist, "from their rea-
 sons and hopes conceived, laboured to stir up and encourage
 the rest to undertake and prosecute the same; others, again,
 out of their fears, objected against it, and sought to divert
 from it, alleging many things, and those neither unreason-
 able nor improbable; as that it was a great design, and sub-
 ject to many inconceivable perils and dangers; as, besides
 the casualties of the seas, (which none can be freed from,)

Counting the
 cost.

the length of the voyage was such as the weak bodies of men and women and such other persons, worn out with age and travail, (as many of them were,) could never be able to endure; and yet if they should, the miseries of the land which they should be exposed unto would be too hard to be borne, and likely, some or all of them, to consume and utterly to ruinate them. For there they should be liable to famine, and nakedness, and the want, in a manner, of all things." Nor does the chronicler forget the "danger of the salvage people who delight to torment men in most bloody manner that may be." But to all these it had been answered, "that all great and honourable actions were accompanied with great difficulties, and must be both enterprised and overcome with answerable courages. It was granted the dangers were great, but not desperate, and the difficulties were many, but not invincible; for although there were many of them likely, yet they were not certain. It might be that some of the things feared might never befall them; others, by providence, care, and the use of good means, might in a great measure be prevented; and all of them through the help of God, by fortitude and patience, might either be borne or overcome."*

From the greatest of all these dangers, (that of the savage Indian,) they were rescued by the good Providence that cast them, against their wills, on the bleak coast of New England. Had they followed out their original plan, and the requirements of the charter granted under the seal of the Virginia Company, they would in all probability have perished by the hands of the Red Indian tribes, who then populated the vast savannahs along the shores of the Hudson. Various attempts had been made from time to time to colonize New England, but without success; and at length all thought of it seemed abandoned by the boldest of English adventurers, unless where they occasionally established a temporary summer station there, for trafficking with the Indians. But the chosen soil which had thus been protected by the rude hand of the savage from the mere mercenary adventurer in search of gain, was suddenly prepared for the reception of those who "sought a faith's pure shrine." The first of the natives with whom the Pilgrims had any intelli-

The chosen spot.

* Chronicles of the Pilgrims, pp. 48-50.

CHAP. V.

gible intercourse was Samoset, an Indian of the Wampanoags, who had acquired some smattering of the English tongue from frequent intercourse with the fishermen who visited that shore. From him they learned that a terrible pestilence had broken out among the tribes of Massachusetts only four years before, and that out of these Indian nations who had numbered among them thirty thousand fighting men, scarcely three hundred were left alive. There was no need of the signing of treaties, or the smoking of the calumet of peace, as in the negotiations of the founder of Pennsylvania. The land was without possessors; the succession of heirs had failed; and the broad savannahs had been gifted anew, by their great Suzerain, to the wandering outcasts of the pale-faces.

The inhospitable shore.

Scarcely any position can be conceived of as more desolate than that of the passengers on board the Mayflower, when it rounded Cape Cod, and cast anchor in Plymouth Bay. After their tedious and long-protracted voyage, their eyes at length rested on the land of promise. But no friendly hand was extended to welcome them to the shore. Along the coast, far as the eye could reach, no spot appeared to offer even a convenient landing, or a commodious shelter; while, on board, they must have felt that they could repose little faith on the friendly aid of the mercenary hirelings who had guided the Mayflower thus far from their destined haven, and were now impatient to land them and begone. Dreary indeed must have been the prospect that presented itself, when, after a tempestuous passage, during which the little band, with their wives and infant children, had been exposed for nine weeks to all the terrors of the stormy Atlantic, they still hesitated to land. Exploring parties tracked their way through the woods, followed on the trail of the wild Indians, and strove with all diligence to familiarize themselves with the capabilities of the new country they had come to take possession of. Their desires were humble enough, their gratitude overflowed in thanksgivings at the least favour of Heaven. After a long and devious ramble, in which their slender stock of provisions had proved inadequate for their wants, their own journalist remarks: "About ten a'clocke we came into a deepe valley, full of brush, wood-gaile, and long grasse, through which

we found little paths or tracks, and there we saw a deere, and found springs of fresh water, of which we were heartily glad, and sat us downe and drunke our first New England water, with as much delight as ever we drunke drinke in all our lives."*

So soon as the voluntary charter of association, already referred to, had been drawn up and signed by every member of the new colony, a party of sixteen explorers was sent on shore "to see what the land was, and what inhabitants they could meet with." Time pressed; the chill blasts of winter were already come, and the little band, with their wives and helpless infants, were to be left to brave its worst on that inhospitable shore. Yet some sixteen more precious days were spent ere the carpenter could unship the shallop and render it sea-worthy, they "having been forced to cut her downe in bestowing her betwixt the decks, and she was much opened with the peoples' lying in her." There are no complaints or murmurs recorded in these early journals of the Pilgrims, from which we quote. It is only by such passing allusions as this that we learn of their privations. For the tedious weeks of the long voyage, when tossed about by the equinoctial gales of the Atlantic, the shallop between the decks had been the hard couch of these uncomplaining wanderers. Meanwhile, however, the explorers set out to examine the capabilities of their destined home. They struck inland, and found a little path to certain heaps of sand, one of which they dug into, "musing what it might be." It contained a bow and arrows greatly decayed, the simple memorials of an Indian warrior, one of the last of his race. They left the others untouched, because they thought "it would be odious unto them to ransacke their sepulchres." There was deep meaning in this first discovery, though they thought not of it at the time. They met with many more such evidences of death. The same Journal records at the close of the month: "We followed certaine beaten pathes and tracts of the *Indians* into the Woods, supposing they would haue led vs into some Towne, or houses; after wee had gone a while, we light vpon a very broad beaten path, well nigh two foote broad, then we

The land
unowned.

* Journal of the proceedings of the Plantation settled at Plymouth in New England. Nov. 16, 1620.

CHAP. V. lighted all our Matches, and prepared our selues, concluding wee were neare their dwellings, but in the end we found it to be onely a path made to driue Deere in, when the *Indians* hunt, as wee supposed. When we had marched fife or six myles into the Woods, and could find no signes of any people, we returned againe another way, and as we came into the plaine ground, wee found a place like a graue, but it was much bigger and longer then any we had yet seene. It was also covered with boords, so as we mused what it should be, and resolved to digge it vp, where we found, first a Matt, and vnder that a fayre Bow, and there another Matt, and vnder that a boord about three quarters long, finely carued and paynted, with three tynes, or broches on the top, like a Crowne; also betweene the Matts we found Boules, Traves, Dishes, and such like Trinkets; at length we came to a faire new Matt, and vnder that two Bundles, the one bigger, the other lesse, we opened the greater and found in it a great quantitie of fine and perfect red Powder, and in it the bones and skull of a man. The skull had fine yellow haire still on it, and some of the flesh vnconsumed; there was bound vp with it a knife, a pack-needle, and two or three old iron things. It was bound vp in a Saylers canvas Casacke, and a payre of cloth breeches; the red Powder was a kind of Embaulment, and yielded a strong, but no offensiue smell; It was as fine as any flower. We opened the lesse bundle likewise, and found of the same Powder in it, and the bones and head of a little childe; about the leggs, and other parts of it was bound strings, and bracelets of fine white Beads; there was also by it a little Bow, about three quarters long, and some other odd knackes; we brought sundry of the pretiest things away with vs, and covered the Corps vp againe. After this, we digged in sundry like places, but found no more Corne, *nor any things els but graues.*"*

Life in death. Nothing but graves! and the keen frosts and snows of an American winter already settling down upon them; the morrow the 1st of December; and no shelter yet provided against the inclement region! A superstitious, or even a desponding mind might be pardoned if, in like circumstances,

* Journal of the proceedings of the Plantation settled at Plymouth in New England. Nov. 20th.

it read in such ominous traces of death's footsteps the foreshadowing of doom. Yet therein lay their pledge of safety and their charter to the soil. The Red Indian's lease of ages of the forests of the New World had at length come to an end. The Great Spirit had granted it to another race, and the Red warrior and his child reposed together beneath the memorial mounds of the Wampanoags.

And who shall deem the spot unblest,
Where Nature's younger children rest,
Lull'd on their sorrowing mother's breast?
Deem ye that mother loveth less
These bronzed forms of the wilderness
She foldeth in her long caress?
As sweet o'er them her wild flowers blow,
As if with fairer hair and brow,
The blue-eyed Saxon slept below.*

The explorers found other relics of the old Indian possessors of the soil, more welcome to them than those we have described. Digging into one of the forest mounds, which seemed to have been very recently constructed, they discovered "a little old basket full of faire Indian corne, and digging further found a fine great new basket full of very faire corne of this yeare, with some 36 goodly eares of corne, which was a very goodly sight. The basket was round and narrow at the top, it held about three or foure bushels, which was as much as two of us could lift up from the ground, and was very handsomely and cunningly made." It was a most opportune and seasonable discovery; a treasure of more worth than a tumulus of such gold dust as the first colonists of Virginia sought for in vain.

But the explorers met with other adventures, and found evidence of the Red Indian's ingenuity and skill, ere they got their harvest treasure borne safely home. They had to pass the night in the forest, and in the morning wandered from the track, or as their quaint old journalist records it, "were shrewdly pus-led, and lost their way. As we wandered," he continues, "we came to a tree, where a yong Spritt was bowed downe over a bow, and some Acornes strewed vnder-neath; *Stephen Hopkins* sayd, it had beene to catch some Deere, so, as we were looking at it, *William Bradford* being in the reare, when he came looked also

Forest adventures.

CHAP. V.

vpon it, and as he went about, it gaue a sodaine jerk vp, and he was immediately caught by the leg; It was a very pretie devise, made with a rope of their owne making, and having a noose as artificially made, as any Roper in England can make, and as like ours as can be, which we brought away with vs."

It was a pleasant jest to the wanderers, in which the gravest of them doubtless indulged in a laugh at their too curious companion, thus caught in the Indian's deer-trap. The hint, however, was well worth their study; a lesson in New England forestry which might serve them in good stead, ere the ringing axes of the colonists should scare the wild deer to follow the Indian hunter beyond the reach of encroaching civilization. "And thus," adds the honest journalist, "wee came both weary and well-come home, and delivered in our corne into the store, to be kept for seed, for we knew not how to come by any, and therefore were very glad, purposing so soone as we could meete with any of the inhabitants of that place to make them large satisfaction. This was our first discovery, while our shallop was in repairing."

Winter's
severities.

The rigour of the northern winter was now setting in, and the want of any fit landing place added to the difficulties and hardships of the settlers. Every time they came on shore they had to wade, often considerably above the knees. The cold was severe, and the frost frequently so keen that the water froze upon them, and made their garments like coats of mail. Coughs and colds followed, and the seeds of death were sown in many of that forlorn band of pioneers in the wilderness. The roll is printed in the recent American edition of the "Pilgrim's Journal," from that copied by Mr. Prince from the end of Governor Bradford's folio manuscript. This list only gives the names of the forty-one males who signed the original compact drawn up on board the Mayflower, and of this little company, twenty-one names are printed in italics, as those who died before the following March. "For an undefiled conscience, and the love of pure Christianity," says Prince, "they first left their pleasant and native land, and encountered all the toils and hazards of a tumultuous ocean, in search of some uncultivated region, where they might

quietly enjoy their religious liberties, and transmit them to posterity, in hopes that none would follow to disturb or vex them." But they were to be sorely tried, and sifted, and winnowed, ere the first-fruits were to be reaped, of a harvest sown in such toil and sorrow. Hardships and delays had been the first winnowers of the little host, and now death stepped in and still further reduced the numbers of these brave adventurers for liberty of conscience. They had gone from "their pleasant and native land," only to find a grave beside the burial mounds of the Red Indian.

The shallop was at length fit for sea, and Carver, Bradford, Winslow, and Standish, all celebrated in the annals of the infant settlement of New England, set out with some eight or ten men, to explore the shores of the New World, and fix on the spot of their final settlement. But the season was now far advanced. December had brought with it the bitter blasts of winter. The rude gusts of wind dashed the spray of the sea about them, which froze as it fell, congealing upon their garments like the mailed grasp of death. On shore the prospect was little more cheering, for at length, on the 8th of December, when they had risen before dawn, and commended themselves with pious fervour to the protection of Heaven, their ears were for the first time stunned with the horrid yell of the Indian war-whoop, and a flight of arrows gave notice of an attack. A wandering tribe, to whom the English were already an object of hatred, from the wrongs done by former visitors, had stolen on the exploring party; but they stood to their arms, and no harm followed. Once more they thank God for his protecting care over them, and resume their task. For fifteen leagues, they steer their shallop along the coast, in search for a convenient harbour, but in vain. A storm sets in, with snow and drizzling rain. The sea rises, the rudder is broken, and the gathering clouds add to the gloom of approaching night. One of the crew, who had visited these regions before, assuring them of a convenient harbour within reach, they crowd all sail, the mast is shivered to pieces, and the whole crew are on the point of perishing amid the breakers of a lee-shore. On gaining the land, the half-frozen and weary wanderers tremble to kindle a fire lest it should guide the fierce savage to their hearth. "In the morning,"

First exploring party.

CHAP. V. adds Bradford, "they found the place to be a small island, secure from Indians; and this being the last day of the week, they here dry their stuff, fix their pieces, rest themselves, return God thanks for their many deliverances; and here, the next day, keep their Christian Sabbath." It was the 9th of December, and the bitter experience of their wanderings had given no uncertain note of winter. Time was pressing. Every consideration demanded haste, and yet these single-hearted and sincere Christian men spent the day in the solemn rites of Christian worship, and awoke the sylvan echoes of the Indian forest with their hymns of thanksgiving and praise to God. "Thou in thy mercy hast led forth the people thou hast redeemed; thou hast guided them in thy strength unto thy holy habitation. Thou shalt bring them in, and plant them in the mountain of thine inheritance, in the place, O Lord, which thou hast made for thee to dwell in; in the sanctuary, O Lord, which thy hands have established. The Lord shall reign for ever and ever." So might they—so perchance, may they—have sung, in the words of the old Hebrew Prophet, in that first celebration of the Christian's rest amid the wilds of the New World, which they had gone up to possess, as the servants of the Most High.

First New
England
Sabbath.

Forefathers'
day.

"On Monday," says the old Pilgrim Chronicler, "we sounded the harbour, and found it a very good harbour for our shipping. We marched also into the land, and found divers corn-fields and little running brooks,—a place very good for situation,—so we returned to our ship again with good news to the rest of our people, which did much comfort their hearts." This is the day ever memorable to the children of New England as that on which the Pilgrim Fathers first landed at Plymouth. It is one worthy of commemoration, and annual rites and sacred services still mark the return of its anniversary, familiar to the New Englander by the homely but endearing appellation of *Forefathers' Day*.

"Plymouth," says President Dwight, "was the first town built in New England by civilized men, and those by whom it was built were inferior in worth to no body of men whose names are recorded in history during the last 1700 years. A kind of venerableness, arising from these

facts, attaches to this town, which may be termed a prejudice. Still it has its foundation in the nature of man, and will never be eradicated by philosophy or ridicule.”*

The English reader will smile at the half apologetic tone with which the Republican Divine acknowledges the influence of these *prejudices*. Prejudices we may call them if we please, but they spring from the same source whence the noblest and the holiest feelings arise in the soul of man ; and cold must he be, whether of New or of Old England, who could tread, unmoved, the spot which well authenticated tradition has recorded as that of the Pilgrim Fathers’s landing. In 1774, the rock, which was in danger of being buried by the increasing wharfage of the thriving sea-port, became an object of attention to the successors of the Pilgrim founders of Plymouth. A mass of it, weighing several tons, was rescued from the threatened destruction, and removed to an open area in the town, where it now stands within an appropriate inclosure,—a far fitter memorial of the Fathers of New England than all that the most costly efforts of the sculptor, in brass or marble, could have produced. “*Voici*,” exclaims M. de Tocqueville, with the lively susceptibility of a Frenchman, “*Voici une pierre que les pieds de quelques misérables touchent un instant, et cette pierre devient célèbre ; elle attire les regards d’un grand peuple ; on en vénère les débris, on s’en partage au loin la poussière.*” It would be folly to attempt to realise the thoughts of these wanderers, these *misérables*, as they first set foot on the rocky landing of Plymouth Bay. They dreamt not of cities and empires founded by their efforts. They sought only to discover a place of shelter where the weary voyagers of the Mayflower might rear their home in the wilderness. Nevertheless, be it remembered, their trust was in God, and they were in search of “some uncultivated region,” where they might not only enjoy religious liberty themselves, but transmit the same to their latest posterity.

* Dwight’s Travels through New England, vol. ii. p. 110.

CHAPTER VI.

THE WINTER OF HOPE.

What sought they there,—whose steps were on the dust
 Of the old forest lords? Not summer skies
 Nor genial zephyrs, nor the amenities
 Of golden spoils. Their strength was in the trust
 That breasts all billows of the abyss of Time,
 The Rock of Ages, and its hopes sublime.

AMERICAN SOUVENIR.

CHAP. VI. THE month of December had nearly drawn to a close, with all the hopes and disappointments of that eventful year, ere, amid the snows or driving rain of an American winter, the Pilgrim founders of New England got a beginning fairly made to their destined settlement. Having fixed on the scene of their intended home, the journal of their proceedings records four excellent and satisfactory reasons for settling there; but the candid annalist adds, "The last and especial reason was, that now the heart of winter and unseasonable weather was come upon us, so that we could not go upon coasting and discovery without danger of losing men and boat, upon which would follow the overthrow of all. Also cold and wet lodging had so tainted our people, scarce any of us were free from vehement coughs, as, if they should continue long, would endanger the lives of many. . . . It was also conceived, whilst we had competent victuals, that the ship would stay with us, but when that grew low they would begone, and let us shift as we could." This harsh and unanswerable argument of necessity sufficed better than all other reasonings to promote unanimity among the colonists. Wood was cut down and reduced to shape for building materials, in the intervals between the storms that usually attend on the closing season of the year.

The site of
New Ply-
mouth.

A rising ground was chosen as the site of the new city they were to found, and the citadel which was to secure its safety against the dreaded assaults of the wild Indian. The "great hill," which the old historian of the colony designates as that "on which we point to make a platform and plant our ordnance, which will command all round about," is now known to the modern New Englander as Burial Hill, an eminence commanding one of the most extensive and magnificent sea views in the country.* As the difficulties of their task became more apparent, the whole company were divided into families, the unmarried being required to choose a family into whose circle they should be adopted, in order that fewer houses might be needed. By this wise arrangement, the colonists were subdivided into nineteen families; and at length, on the 9th of January 1621, the first operations of building the infant city were begun. The plot of ground was divided by lot among them, and each party set diligently to the task of providing a shelter and a home in the wilderness for their little circle. Their houses were built in two rows, for greater convenience and safety, and although these primitive log huts have long since been displaced by the superior mansions of successive generations, the local historian still delights to point to the old thoroughfare of Leyden Street, as the avenue first rescued by the Fathers of New England from the primeval forest. But such operations were necessarily difficult and slow, amid the storms of winter and the wasting fever of slow consumption which already preyed on many of that devoted band. Sometimes for days together nothing could be done. Brief glimpses of sunshine, between showers of sleet and protracted snow storms, were the only opportunities the builders had for their important task. Occasionally the painful monotony of such difficulties is relieved only by a change of sufferings. A party sent to gather thatch loose their way in the forest, and are forced to pass the night on the bare ground, amid frost and snow,—destitute alike of food or shelter; or an invalid wandering a little way from the rising settlement is beset by hungry wolves, and narrowly escapes to bear home the tidings of such dangerous neighbours at hand. The house set apart as a shelter for the sick takes

Difficulties
and dangers.

* Chronicles of the Pilgrims, p. 163.

CHAP. VI. fire, and is with difficulty extinguished; the violent rain and winds strip their half-built houses of the clay and mortar with which their builders had hoped to shield themselves and families from the cold; and the occasional discovery of an Indian trail, and even sometimes the glimpse of a native straggler, or the smoke of their distant fires, fill the feeble band of colonists with anxiety and fear.

Thus did the infant settlement of New Plymouth slowly progress, amid many difficulties and dangers, and amid much suffering patiently endured. There were wives, and mothers, and sisters there. There were infants fondly pressed to these mothers' breasts, amid the privations of that dreary winter. There were husbands, and fathers, and brothers too, sinking into untimely graves, who had come from the far-off land of their birth, only to find a burial place among the graves of the strangers.

Death of the
first governor.

John Carver had been chosen by the unanimous voice of his companions as the first governor of their little republic. But his own home-circle had been one of the earliest marks for the shaft of death. He had scarcely landed ere he was called upon to dig a grave for his son, and he had only felt the first breath of the south wind fan his fevered temples, when he also sunk under the severities of the climate and his unwearied anxiety for the common good, leaving a desolate and broken-hearted widow, who was soon laid at rest beside him in the same grave. "March 24," says Governor Bradford, "dies Elizabeth, the wife of Mr. Edward Winslow. This month thirteen of our number die. And in three months past, dies half our company; the greatest part in the depth of winter, wanting houses and other comforts, being infected with the scurvy and other diseases, which their long voyage and unaccommodate condition brought upon them; so as there die sometimes two or three a day. Of a hundred persons scarce fifty remain; the living scarce able to bury the dead; the well not sufficient to tend the sick, there being, in their time of greatest distress, but six or seven, who spare no pains to help them. Two of the seven were Mr. Brewster, the reverend elder, and Mr. Standish, their captain. The like disease fell also among the sailors, so as almost half their company also die before they sail. But the spring advancing, it pleases God the

mortality begins to cease, and the sick and lame recover; which puts new life into the people, though they had borne their sad affliction with as much patience as any could do."

Such were the first experiences of the colonists of New England. Had they resembled the rabble of needy and dissipated adventurers, bankrupt courtiers, and covetous gold seekers, who set sail only fourteen years before, with the intention of colonizing Virginia, the fate of their project may well be conceived. Captain Smith described the band of Virginian colonists as composed of some forty-eight needy gentlemen to four carpenters. It was considered as no little advantage to these emigrants, that they took neither wives nor children in their train. Jealousies, divisions, and excesses had sorely reduced their numbers when they were recruited by a band of new comers, composed, in spite of Smith's remonstrances, chiefly of vagabond gentlemen and journeymen goldsmiths, who were come to do nothing else "but dig gold, wash gold, refine gold, and load gold." The main portion of the new comers returned to England, bearing with them a freight of worthless ochre, which their unskillful refiners had satisfied them was gold dust; while Smith, whose ability and genius had raised him to be president of the Council, had to adopt coercive measures to compel the gentlemen-colonists to work, and wrote home to the directors of the colony, "I entreat you rather send but thirty carpenters, husbandmen, gardeners, fishermen, blacksmiths, masons, and diggers up of tree roots, than a thousand such as we have."

Compared
with other
colonists.

Such emigrants as these we may well believe would have found no gold on the New England shores, had they landed there to brave the perils and endure the sufferings that attended on the founders of that free state. But they had learned to count the cost of their undertakings, and had entered on the scheme of rearing a home amid the wilderness of the New World, in no hope of gathering gold from the unbroken soil. They had calculated, as we have seen, the worst dangers that were before them, yet it was scarcely possible for the most candid foresight to have exceeded the painful realizations of their experience. Sickness and many privations disabled them, and death thinned their ranks of the wisest and ablest of their number, while the survivors

CHAP. VI. were sometimes scarcely able to tend on the sick, or to bury the dead. At one period during that dreadful winter, only seven were left out of the whole company capable of rendering assistance to their companions.

Breaking
sunshine.

At length the dreary winter began to draw to a close. On the 3d of March a south wind brought warm and fair weather, and the ears of the sad and toil-worn emigrants were greeted with the cheering notes of the birds as they "sang in the woods most pleasantly." Other comforts followed in like manner, though, like the warmth of the spring sunshine, chequered by many keen blasts and disheartening rains. On the 16th of March, "a fayre warme day," while the colonists were consulting together about the establishing of military orders among them for securing the safety of the settlement, they were interrupted by the approach of a Red Indian, whose presence filled them with alarm. But their fears were happily groundless. Nor were they now dependent for their safety on the forbearance of the Indian straggler. Their citadel on Burial Hill had been laid out according to the simple rules of fortification best suited to this primitive settlement, and the captain and sailors of the Mayflower had landed and mounted on their hill fort a formidable array of ordnance, described in Governor Bradford's history as "one of the great pieces called a minion, a saller, [*saker*] and two bases," all pieces of artillery in common use at the period. The Indian described himself as one of the sagamores or chiefs of his tribe, but he came at the head of no warlike band of savages, but frankly presented himself alone among the strangers, hailing them with the pleasant English salutation of "Welcome!" He was the first native of the wilderness with whom they had been able to hold converse, and it must have sounded even stranger in their ears than the most unintelligible dialect of the forest, to be saluted by the wild Indian in their own mother tongue. The colonists were soon on friendly terms with their Indian visitor. They entertained him hospitably; giving him "strong water, biscuit, butter, and cheese, with pudding, and a piece of mallard," and received from him information of no little value to them. He informed them that the Indian name of their new settlement was Patuxet, and from him they first learned the glad tidings that they had no

reason to fear the return of any Indian possessor to claim from them the restitution of his native soil. This fact, however, was already well known to mariners who frequented the coast for the purposes of fishing or trading in furs with the natives. Captain Dermer who had visited the shores of New England in 1619, described the country as consisting of "ancient plantations, not long since populous but now utterly void," and all the writers of the period who speak of New England agree in their accounts of a deadly plague which had devastated the whole country, from the Penobscot to Narraganset Bay, sweeping away whole tribes in its progress, and nearly exterminating the old possessors of the soil. It cannot excite our surprise that this should have been regarded, both by the devout colonists of New England and by later historians, as an immediate interposition of Providence, to make room for the settlement of the English colonists. It was so viewed even by the statesmen of England, in the seventeenth century, and is no less confidently referred to by the devout author of the "Plymouth Pilgrims," as the casting out of the heathen, preparatory to God's planting there the vine which he brought forth from the land of bondage.

In the great patent of New England, which was granted by King James,—though unknown to the Pilgrim colonists,—before they had set foot on the sacred landing-place in Plymouth Bay, the King thus refers to the extermination produced by the Indian pestilence, as a strong inducement to enter on the possession of these goodly but deserted territories:—"We have been further given certainly to know, that within these late years there hath, by God's visitation, reigned a wonderful plague amongst the savages there heretofore inhabiting, in a manner to the utter destruction, devastation, and depopulation of that whole territory, so as there is not left, for many leagues together, in a manner, any that do claim or challenge any kind of interest therein; whereby we, in our judgment, are persuaded and satisfied that the appointed time is come in which Almighty God, in his great goodness and bounty towards us and our people, hath thought fit and determined, that these large and goodly territories, deserted as it were by their natural inhabitants, should be possessed and enjoyed by such of our subjects and

The appointed time.

CHAP. VI

Providential
arrange-
ments.

people as shall by his mercy and favour, and by his powerful arm, be directed and conducted thither."

It would be a strange amount of incredulous scepticism that could induce any one to overlook so remarkable a concurrence of circumstances, or regard the depopulation of so large a portion of the American continent at this important crisis, as merely an accidental and chance coincidence. Had the Pilgrims of New England been compelled to rear the primitive log huts of Leyden Street, with their arms in their hands, and the craft and cruelty of the Red Indian continually opposed to them, according to all ordinary probability, the settlers who left England the following year to cast in their lot among the survivors of that terrible winter would have found only the unburied bones of their friends amid the blackened ruins of their log huts. Of this they were themselves sufficiently aware. Holmes remarks in his *Annals*:* "Tradition gives an affecting picture of the infant colony during this critical and distressing period. The dead were buried on the bank, at a little distance from the rock where the Fathers landed; and, lest the Indians should take advantage of the weak and wretched state of the English, the graves were levelled and sown for the purpose of concealment." How touching is the picture which this presents to us of the privations and sufferings endured by these uncomplaining exiles, denied even the sad privilege of erecting the frail memorial of sorrow, or rearing the little mound that speaks so eloquently of the calm repose of the dead.

Indian
neighbours.

It was no vague fancy that kept the early colonists alive to the constant danger of attack from the Indians. They had repeatedly learned of their near neighbourhood, and even had some experience of their violence, before they learned from Samoset, their friendly visitor, that these were only the straggling survivors of neighbouring tribes, who had wandered to the deserted hunting-grounds of Patuxet. The Indians of New England were not totally exterminated, though the survivors were but a feeble and scattered remnant of the old warriors of the forest. Samoset from time to time guided parties of these to the new settlement, and negotiated both friendly and trading alliances, from which

* Holmes's *Annals*, i. 168, *Chronicles of the Pilgrims*, p. 199.

the colonists reaped considerable advantage; though from the first they assumed a bold and uncompromising bearing in all their intercourse with the Indians, to which their safety was in no slight degree to be ascribed. They were bound together by the strongest ties of mutual esteem and affection, no less than by those of self-interest, so that a consistent harmony pervaded all their proceedings. The first interruption to this, with the penalty thereby incurred, are thus quaintly recorded in the Governor's journal, towards the end of March:—"The first offence since our arrival is of John Billington, who came on board at London, and is this month convented before the whole company for his contempt of the Captain's lawful command with opprobrious speeches, for which he is adjudged to have his neck and heels tied together; but upon humbling himself and craving pardon, and it being the first offence, he is forgiven."

Interrupted
harmony.

At length, with the return of spring, and the cheering prospects inspired by the season of hope and promise, the surviving colonists felt emboldened to trust to their own resources, and on the 5th of April 1621, the Mayflower hoisted sail, and bore away from Plymouth harbour for England. It affords perhaps the best evidence of the firmness and unanimity of the little band of colonists, that notwithstanding the wasting effects of hardship and disease, which had reduced their numbers to nearly a half of what they originally were, and had subjected the survivors to such dreadful privations and sufferings, not one of them offered to desert his companions with the departing Mayflower, whose lessening sail must have been watched by some there, till it vanished on the horizon, as the last link that bound them to the far-off land of their birth.

Departure of
the May-
flower.

CHAPTER VII.

THE INFANT COLONY.

Can ye lead out to distant colonies
 The o'erflowings of a people, or your wrong'd
 Brethren, by impious persecution driven,
 And arm their breasts with fortitude to try
 New regions; climes though barren, yet beyond
 The baneful power of tyrants? These are deeds
 To which their hardy labours well prepare
 The sinewy arm of Albion's sons.

DYER.

CHAP. VII.

Governor
 Bradford.

THE death of Governor Carver, the first President of the little republic of New England, devolved on the colonists the necessity of a new election, and Mr William Bradford, the historian of the colony, was accordingly selected to fill his place. Hope now began to reanimate the settlers as the season of summer drew near; and the first fruits of their winter's toils and privations became apparent, in the enjoyment of domestic comforts, and the prospects of a fruitful harvest ere the year drew to a close. Their fortunate discovery of the hoard of Indian grain had supplied them with the seed best adapted for the soil and climate of their new settlement; and their friendly visitor, Samoset, repaid their hospitality by instructing them in the rules of Indian husbandry.

First New
 England
 marriage.

One of the earliest entries in Governor Bradford's History for the first summer of the New England colony, affords good evidence of the return of hope and confidence among the survivors of those who had sailed in the Mayflower. Under the date of May 12th the historian writes,—"The first marriage in this place is of Mr. Edward Winslow to Mrs. Susanna White." It furnishes the best proof we could desire, that, after counting the cost, and experiencing well nigh the utmost evils that despondency had suggested, the colonists had no thought of abandoning the

hope of founding a home for liberty in the new world. It may perhaps also suggest to us that that influential motive of action which ordinarily springs from the fear of public opinion, had, as yet, acquired but little power in the infant commonwealth of New England, when it is noted that its first bride and bridegroom were among those whom the severities of the previous winter had deprived of their wedded partners. But the necessities of such a state of society are not to be subjected to the rules of ordinary life. The first New England marriage, notwithstanding the brief widowhood which preceded it, is undoubtedly to be viewed as the harbinger of brighter hopes to the poor exiles.

Evil mingles with good in all the social compacts of men, strangely chequering the purest schemes of piety and patriotism with evidences of the corruption and depravity of our nature. The very next entry in Governor Bradford's journal records the first exercise of his judicial authority on two culprits, arraigned for a far more serious crime than that for which John Billington had been adjudged to be tied together, neck and heels. The same summary mode of punishment was resorted to in the case of the new offenders, who were convicted of fighting a duel with sword and dagger, in which both were slightly wounded. Though on this occasion the culprits did not escape, the adjudged punishment was mercifully executed. "The combat," says Bradford, "was between Edward Doty and Edward Leister, servants of Mr. Hopkins. They are adjudged by the whole company to have their head and feet tied together, and so to lie for twenty-four hours, without meat or drink ; which is begun to be inflicted, but within an hour,—because of their great pains,—at their own and their master's humble request, upon promise of better carriage, they are released by the Governor."

Crimes and penalties.

The month of June found the settlers so far advanced with the first necessary labours of a new colony, that they had time to examine more accurately than had been before possible, into the character of the surrounding country, and the disposition of the native tribes who still retained possession of their ancient hunting grounds. It was accordingly resolved to despatch a friendly embassy to Massasoyt, the most powerful chief among the surrounding tribes,

Indian embassy.

CHAP. VII. "partly to know where to find them, if occasion served, as also to see their strength, discover the country, prevent abuses in their disorderly coming to us, make satisfaction for some injuries conceived to be done on our parts, and to continue the league of peace and friendship between them and us." Edward Winslow and Steven Hopkins were selected to go on this delicate mission, in company with Squanto, an Indian, who was to act as their interpreter. He had been kidnapped at an earlier period by a miscreant who carried off a number of Indians to sell them as slaves. Squanto was rescued and taken to England, where he received much kindness; and being at length restored to his native land, he was well qualified to act as a mediator between the new settlers and their Indian neighbours. The messengers entrusted with this delicate embassy were not sent empty-handed. They bore with them a supply of trinkets best suited to gratify the tastes of their Indian neighbours; and, for the great Sagamore himself, a horseman's coat of red cotton, trimmed with lace, which stirred up in his Majesty no little pride, when he was decked in such unwonted bravery of attire! They strove also, with skilful diplomacy, to reduce to some degree of certainty and mutual confidence the future political intercourse between the President of the little New England republic and the great king Massasoit. "To the end," says Winslow,—the historian, as is believed, of the mission which he so successfully negotiated,*—"To the end we might know his messengers from others, our Governor had sent Massasoit a copper chain, desiring if any messenger should come from him to us, we might know him by bringing it with him, and hearken and give credit to his message accordingly."

Reception of
the embassy.

The messengers of the colony met with a friendly reception whenever they paused at an Indian settlement, and were entertained by the great King Massasoit according to the most gracious rites of Indian hospitality, and invited to pass the night in the same bed with himself and his wife,—the colonial ambassadors at the one end and their Indian Majesties at the other. Like other royal favours, it proved somewhat irksome to the recipients, who had to complain of very straitened accommodation, and record that "they

• See Chronicles of the Pilgrims. Note on p. 202.

were worse weary of their lodging than of their journey." CHAP. VII.
 In the course of that excursion, they acquired considerable knowledge of their Indian neighbours, and learned that rivalry and enmity stirred up constant feuds among the tribes by whom they were surrounded. The sight of a strange Indian filled their guides with watchfulness and alarm; and the most frequent warning they received was to place no faith in the Narragansetts. But the courage of the colonists, which had been undaunted by the privations and sufferings of their first New England winter, was not to be daunted by the bravados of Indian savages.

They learned soon after of some wrongs done to their Indian ally by the Narragansetts, and being also informed, though erroneously, of their having murdered Squanto, the faithful interpreter of Winslow on his mission to Massasoit, an armed party of ten of the most trusty colonists was despatched to bring their troublesome neighbour to terms, or punish him for his audacity. With the most determined courage this brave little band marched into the forest, surrounded the house where they believed the obnoxious chief to be, disarmed the Indians who came to the rescue, and by their determined bearing completely awed the savages into subjection.

Expedition
against the
Indians.

The reader may perchance smile at the formidable expedition of ten armed colonists, going out to war on behalf of their Indian ally, and striking terror to the hearts of their enemies. Yet if we justly estimate it, there was more of sound policy and gallant daring in the proceedings of this handful of strangers, than has marked many a deed of arms which historians have delighted to record, and which nations still look back to with exulting pride. The Narragansetts, as they afterwards learned, were a numerous and powerful tribe, occupying nearly the whole territory now comprehended within the State of Rhode Island. They had escaped the pestilence which depopulated the greater part of New England; and at the time that they were thus menaced by the gallant Pilgrims, they numbered among them five thousand fighting men, descendants of a martial race, inured to arms, and confident by reason of the diminished number of the rival tribes with whom they had been wont to engage in war. Behind the little band of strangers

The Narra-
gansetts.

CHAP. VII. was nothing but the sea. Beyond it no powerful friends or allies watched their fortunes, or hastened to bring them aid. They were alone, and sorely reduced in numbers, on that strange shore, where they had been forced to bury in secret so many of their friends; while before them lay the vast and unexplored forests of the New World, whose lords they had defied and forced into submission by the terror of their arms. Yet their proceedings were characterised by the utmost moderation and self-command. They won the respect of the Indians by the anxious care with which they avoided injuring their women and children; and so great was the confidence they inspired, that even the wounded Narragansetts repaired to New Plymouth to be healed by the same hands that had inflicted the injuries.

Winslow's
report of the
Indians.

In a private letter, addressed by Edward Winslow, towards the close of this year, to a friend in England, he says,—“We have found the Indians very faithful in their covenant of peace with us, very loving and ready to pleasure us. We often go to them, and they come to us. Some of us have been fifty miles by land in the country with them, the occasions and relations whereof you shall understand by our general and more full declaration of such things as are worth the noting. Yea, it hath pleased God so to possess the Indians with a fear of us, and love unto us, that not only the greatest king amongst them, called Massasoyt, but also all the princes and peoples round about us, have either made suit unto us, or been glad of any occasion to make peace with us; so that seven of them at once have sent their messengers to us to that end. Yea, an isle at sea, which we never saw, hath also, together with the former, yielded willingly to be under the protection and subject to our sovereign lord King James. So that there is now great peace amongst the Indians themselves, which was not formerly, neither would have been but for us; and we, for our parts, walk as peaceably and safely in the wood as in the highways in England. We entertain them familiarly in our houses, and they as friendly bestowing their venison on us. They are a people without any religion, yet very trusty, quick of apprehension, ripe-witted, just.”*

In the same letter, the writer refers to the first freight sent home by the Colonists, and describes to his friends the most useful stores to be provided by such as proposed joining the first settlers in New England. Not the least significant portion of this is the advice to "bring paper and linseed oil for the windows, with cotton yarn for the lamps;" requirements which furnish no little insight into the hardships of the Pilgrims, and the very homely accommodation that sufficed to satisfy their lowly desires, and to fill their hearts with gratitude and thanksgiving to God

The vessel by which Edward Winslow's letter was despatched to England was the *Fortune*, a small barque of about fifty-five tons, which had arrived in Plymouth Bay on the 9th of November, bringing thirty-five new settlers, including, it is believed, those who had been compelled to abandon the enterprise when the *Speedwell* put back, owing to the fears or treachery of its commander. By the same opportunity, William Hilton, one of the passengers in the *Fortune*, thus sums up an account to his "loving cousin," of the wealth and prospects of the country to which he had been borne:—"Better grain cannot be than the Indian corn, if we will plant it upon as good ground as a man need desire. We are all freeholders; the rent-day doth not trouble us; and all those good blessings we have, of which, and what we list, in their seasons for taking. Our company are, for most part, very religious, honest people; the word of God sincerely taught us every Sabbath; so that I know not any thing a contented mind can here want. I desire your friendly care to send my wife and children to me, where I wish all the friends I have in England." The *Fortune* also brought a new charter, granted by the merchant adventurers, as they are generally styled, but which was probably never turned to account by the colonists, as it was very shortly afterwards superseded by another patent, surreptitiously obtained by Mr. John Pierce, a pretended friend of the emigrants, who treacherously laboured to place the colony completely in his own power, and to make the labour of the emigrants mainly conducive to his own selfish interests.

Good report
of the land.

The *Fortune* sailed for England on the 13th of December 1621, freighted with the first fruits of colonial industry,

The *Fortune*'s
freight.

CHAP. VII. consisting of beaver skins, and wood of various kinds, to the value of £500. But the trials of the Pilgrims of New England were not at an end ; the brief summer of their prosperity had once more gone by, and yielded them but a scanty and deceitful harvest. As the *Fortune* drew near the English coast, she was seized by a privateer ; and, after being detained fifteen days in a French port, was released to find her way to London with an empty hold. While the colonists were cheered with the hopes arising from the anticipated fruits of the first export of the new settlement, the friends who had been enabled to join the first band of exiles, by means of the good ship *Fortune*, thus vainly freighted with so many hopes,—however welcome to the little community of New Plymouth,—threatened to involve them in even more dreadful hardships than had been endured during the previous winter. They brought no provisions with them, and the colonists now found themselves nearly doubled in numbers, while their first harvest, gathered amid so many difficulties, was almost the sole resource to which they could look for the subsistence of the whole colony through the second winter of its existence. To add to their many difficulties, the *Fortune* had hardly sailed from Plymouth Bay when the colonists learned that the Narragansett Indians were preparing to descend in overwhelming numbers to take vengeance on the colonists for leaguings with Massasoit, the chief of their most hated rivals. “The common talk,” says Winslow, “of our neighbour Indians on all sides was of the preparation they made to come against us ;” and at length an Indian messenger arrived at the New England settlement, commissioned by Conanacus, the great sachem of the Narragansetts, to bear to the colonists their symbolic declaration of war. The Indian hastily entered the settlement, and inquiring for the interpreter, left for him a bundle of arrows wrapt in the skin of a rattlesnake. The colonist to whom this missive was intrusted by the ambassador of the Indian sachem, was somewhat puzzled to interpret its significance ; but Governor Bradford was at no loss either for a meaning or an answer to so intelligible a symbol, old as the era of the great Persian empire, when the Scythian chief sent to Darius his challenge of war by a herald, who presented the king with a bundle of arrows. The Governor

The *Fortune's*
fate

Challenge of
war.

removed the arrows, stuffed the snake's skin with powder and shot, and sent it back to the warlike sachem, with a message that if his shipping had been at hand to carry him to the Indians' hunting grounds, he would have saved them the trouble of so long a journey. Conanacus shrunk from a conflict with men who possessed such mysterious and destructive weapons. He dreaded even to touch the ominous missive, and would not suffer the newly-stuffed snakeskin to remain in his house or country. It was posted from place to place, filling the wild natives of the forest wigwams with terror wherever it appeared; and at length it was brought back untouched to the English settlement. The calm courage and self-possession of the Governor had wrought more effectually than armed battalions could have done. The settlers received no more challenges to war.

Notwithstanding the courage of Governor Bradford, he was well aware of the inability of the little band of colonists to contend against the Indians for any length of time, if they brought so numerous a body against them as Conanacus was capable of mustering. Every available means of defence was therefore adopted. Early in the spring a strong stockade was constructed, so as completely to enclose the top of the hill whereon their cannon had been planted when they first landed, and secure them a citadel to which they might retreat in any emergency, and hold out against an overwhelming force. Beyond this they constructed a second line of ramparts, inclosing the whole town with four bulwarks, in three of which the gates of the little town were placed. The next step was to divide the whole available force of the colony into four bands, to appoint captains to each, and assign to them the charge of distinct localities for defence, and the observation of certain well digested rules for mustering and mutual co-operation, in case of any sudden surprise. By this means confidence was infused into the minds of the colonists, and effectual provision made for their safety in the worst extremity.

The citadel
fortified.

There were other enemies, however, whom the colonists had to contend with, and who proved far more dreadful than the sachem of the Narragansetts. When the genial breath of the first New England summer brought with it healing on its wings, and the voice of the singing birds was

Renewed pri-
vations.

CHAP. VII.

Too flattering
reports.

heard in the woods, cheering the exiles with the promise of harvest, and the prospect of realizing such a home as they had longed for in that far wilderness, they naturally yielded to renewed hopes. The sufferings of their first dreary winter were forgotten, despondency gave place to joy and thanksgivings, and the letters which they despatched to their friends in England and Leyden gave an account of their condition which was far more justified by their hopes than their experience. "Certain of ourselves," says Winslow, "were too prodigal in their writing and reporting of that plenty we enjoyed." One of the earliest fruits of this was the arrival of the *Fortune*, to which we have already referred, towards the close of autumn, bringing a band of new settlers to the colony, totally unfurnished with any provisions for the approaching winter. Fresh settlers are indeed the life of a colony, and had they landed in the spring, in time to bear their part in the labours of colonial husbandry, and to reap the harvest by which their winter stores were to be supplied, the first emigrants would have had no reason to regret the flattering accounts that tempted their friends so speedily to follow in the track of the *Mayflower*. But this augmentation of their numbers took place after their harvest had been reaped, and laid up for their winter's stores. "The *Fortune*," says Winslow, "came so unprovided, not landing so much as a barrel of bread or meal for their whole company, but contrariwise received from us for their ship's store homeward." The consequence was, that the whole body of colonists were reduced to subsist on half allowance for nearly six months. They were no longer compelled, as in their first winter's experience, to watch by the deathbeds of their companions, and hide the graves of their brethren, lest the watchful Indian should count the green mounds of their little burial-field, and learn from thence the weakness of the infant settlement. But they had only exchanged deadly sickness for privations and want. "I have seen men," says Winslow, "stagger by reason of faintness for want of food;" and yet the historian of the colony tells of no repining or threatened desertion among the devoted and faithful band, who thus shared their hard won harvest with their brethren. At length even their meagre and carefully-husbanded stores entirely failed them,

and toward the end of May they were left utterly destitute of provisions. CHAP. VII

Such were the experiences of the settlers of New England at the very time when they were returning to the sachem of the Narragansetts their message of defiance, and calmly providing the means of defence against Indian stratagem or open siege. The Pilgrim Fathers were slowly and painfully laying the foundations of a mighty structure, which the builders of many generations shall add to ere it be completed. It was a work which the dark cloud was oftener shadowing, than the ray of hope illuminating and brightening with promise. They were to be perfected in the school of suffering; and, as the faithful pioneers of other generations, to open up the way for those who are reaping the harvest they sowed in hope and in tears. But they had within them the enduring elements of Christian faith and trust, which guarded them against worse dangers even than famine and disease. The self-sacrificing spirit of mutual love protected the little colony from discord and strife, and enabled it to surmount dangers and trials which had proved the ruin of the powerful settlements of Virginia, when they numbered the colonists not by tens but by hundreds, and boasted of noble birth and titled governors, and the influence and protection of the Court at their command. But it needed all the long-suffering patience and enduring hope of the Christian to enable these exiles of New England to brave the sufferings by which they were encompassed. The first spring and summer, in which they watched the lessening sail of the homeward-bound Mayflower, had seemed to promise that their worst trials were at an end. But the return of another summer found them even worse off than at the first. They were starving in the land of promise. The fruits of their first harvest were exhausted, ere they had done more than commit the seed for their next reaping to the ground. Dearly indeed were the rights of conscience and the home of liberty won. Costly was the price they paid for freedom to rear their tabernacle in the wilderness. Yet amid all their endurance of self-denial and suffering, the Pilgrim Fathers never murmured at their lot. They had counted well the cost. Their trusting reliance in the overruling providence of God remained unshaken, and in

Elements of
endurance.

CHAP. VII. the darkest hour of their painful experience they looked with cheerful confidence to the future; nor ever turned back a repining gaze on the golden harvest homes of old England, where still there was enough and to spare for them, if only they would trample on the dictates of conscience, and worship God according to the will of a bigot king. Rare, indeed, are the examples which history furnishes that may be compared with this united band of Christian brethren.

CHAPTER VIII.

PRIVATIONS AND DANGERS.

Yes, in the desert there is built a home
For Freedom. Genius is made strong to rear
The monuments of man beneath the dome
Of a new heaven; myriads assemble there,
Whom the proud lords of man, in rage or fear,
Drove from their wasted homes.

SHELLEY.

CHAP. VIII. THE stores of the colonists had wasted slowly away, notwithstanding the rigorous and impartial frugality with which they were dispensed. The wild fowl, which are so abundant at some seasons of the year, and had furnished more than once a seasonable supply to their necessities during their first winter's privations, were not then to be seen. "No man," says Winslow, "will go into an orchard in the winter to gather cherries; so he that looks for fowls there in the summer will be deceived in his expectation. The time they continue in plenty with us is from the beginning of October to the end of March; but these extremities befell us in May and June." True, indeed, the harvest-time of their well-stored bay was then fully come. The creeks and pools along the encircling coast of Cape Cod were glittering with the silver fins of the bass and white

Summer privations.

fish ; and farther off, the cod fish abounded in the deep waters of the Bay. But it was like the phantom streams of the desert to the traveller who is perishing of thirst. The nets which they laboured to construct gave way with the very wealth of their seas ; they were destitute of the necessary tackling for the cod fishery, never having contemplated the interchange of such occupations with the labours of the field ; and they were in danger of perishing for want in the midst of abundance. Often they awoke, with the necessity before them of going in search of means for their morning's meal, ere they resumed the daily toils by which a future harvest was to be secured. It seemed, indeed, as if no change was destined to bring about any improvement on the hard lot of these suffering exiles ; and doubtless, had they been mere trading adventurers, who looked forward to the realization of worldly gain as the great end of their settlement on the shores of New England, the broad savannahs which the Pilgrim Fathers found without an owner, would speedily have been abandoned to the solitude of their Indian sepulchres. But there they had cast their lot, in full assurance that the good Providence of God would work out for them a haven of rest, wherein they might build an altar to his name, though it might be that the way in which they were led would prove a weary and desert road.

Among those friends who joined the first New England Pilgrims on the arrival of the *Fortune*, was Robert Cushman, whom Governor Bradford speaks of as "our ancient friend, who was our right hand with the adventurers, and for divers years managed all our business with them." He it was who was sent from Leyden to England commissioned to enter into arrangements for the settlement of the Pilgrims in the Virginia Company's territories. He was one of those who embarked in the *Speedwell* and were compelled to turn back. His whole sympathies, however, were with the Pilgrims, and his prayers went forth for those whom he deemed more fortunate than himself, as he watched the lessening sail of the *Mayflower*, till it disappeared on the distant horizon. Ere he reached the settlement of the *Mayflower* Pilgrims death had been busy with the little circle. One and another of his friends, for whom

Robert Cushman.

CHAP. VIII. he may have most fondly inquired, had found only a grave where they had sought the home of liberty. He himself, too, had to partake of the stinted rations of that severe winter, and to share in the pinching cares of the uncomplaining little band of friends, who, after parting their last winter's stores with their companions, often retired hungry and faint to rest, with no provision left for the morning's meal. Nevertheless, he is the author of a plea for the Pilgrim colonization of New England, in which we trace the true elements of the devoted and self-denying spirit which guided the Christian exiles in their unwavering course. He entitles it "Reasons and Considerations touching the Lawfulness of Removing out of England into the parts of America," in which he makes little account, indeed, of the needy adventurers, whose sole reason for abandoning their native land, is their haste to be rich, and to store up the fancied treasures of the *land of gold*. He thus deals with the varied opponents, or *opposites*, as he styles them, of the scheme of American emigration. "Although the most of the opposites are such as either dream of raising their fortunes here,—than which there is nothing more unlike, —or such as affecting their home-born country so vehemently, as that they had rather with all their friends, beg, yea, starve in it, than undergo a little difficulty in seeking abroad ; yet are there some who, out of doubt, in tenderness of conscience and fear to offend God by running before they are called, are straitened and do straiten others from going to foreign plantations. For whose cause especially I have been drawn, out of my good affection to them, to publish some reasons that might give them content and satisfaction, and also stay and stop the wilful and witty caviller."

Reasons for
emigrating.

Character of
Cushman's
plea

A fine, touching train of natural eloquence mingles with the quaint simplicity of these "Reasons and Considerations," testifying to the pure and elevated character of the author's own motives to action. God of old, he says, did summon our forefathers by dreams and visions, and many special providences, to leave their country and place of habitation, and wander from land to land, in obedience to his will, but now no such calling is to be expected. "Now the ordinary examples and precepts of the Scriptures, rea-

sonably and rightly understood and applied, must be the voice and word that must call us, press us, and direct us in every action." Still the thought dwells on his mind that God has some land of rest and of hope in store for his suffering people, even as he kept so long the promised Canaan in preparation for the chosen seed. But he deals with the hope, not as an enthusiast, but as a Christian believer; reasoning with a degree of wisdom and intelligent simplicity altogether remarkable, when we consider both the character of the age, and the circumstances under which he wrote. "Neither," argues he, "is there any land or possession now, like unto the possession which the Jews had in Canaan, being legally holy and appropriated unto a holy people, the seed of Abraham, in which they dwelt securely, and had their days prolonged, it being by an immediate voice said, that the Lord gave it them as a land of rest after their weary travels, and a type of eternal rest in heaven. But now there is no land of that sanctity, no land so appropriated, none typical; much less any that can be said to be given of God to any nation, as was Canaan, which they and their seed must dwell in, till God sendeth upon them sword or captivity. But now we are all, in all places, strangers and pilgrims, travellers and sojourners, most properly, having no dwelling but in this earthly tabernacle; our dwelling is but a wandering, and our abiding but as a fleeting; and, in a word, our home is nowhere but in the heavens, in that house not made with hands, whose maker and builder is God, and to which all ascend that love the coming of our Lord Jesus."

Referring then to the straits and difficulties to which the dwellers in the crowded cities of the Old World are subjected in their daily struggle for subsistence, he alludes, in passing, to the generous self-denial of the Patriarch Abraham, when his worldly-minded companion cast a greedy eye on the well-watered plains of Mamre, and exclaims,—“Let us not oppress, straiten, and afflict one another; but seeing there is a spacious land, the way to which is through the sea, we will end this difference in a day.” Finally, as to the inducements, and the hopes and fears that might guide those who sought a home beyond the Atlantic, he remarks:—“The land being, first, a vast and empty chaos;

Inducements
to leave the
Old World.

CHAP. VIII. secondly, acknowledged the right of our sovereign king ; thirdly, by a peaceable composition in part possessed of divers of his loving subjects, I see not who can doubt or call in question the lawfulness of inhabiting or dwelling there; but that it may be as lawful for such as are not tied upon some special occasion here, to live there as well as here. Yea, and as the enterprise is weighty and difficult, so the honour is more worthy, to plant a rude wilderness, to enlarge the honour and fame of our dread sovereign, but chiefly to display the efficacy and power of the gospel, both in zealous preaching, professing, and wise-walking under it, before the faces of these poor blind infidels.

“As for such as object the tediousness of the voyage thither, the danger of pirates’s robbery, of the savages’s treachery, &c., these are but lions in the way ; and it were well for such men if they were in heaven. For who can show them a place in this world where iniquity shall not compass them at the heels, and where they shall have a day without grief, or a lease of life for a moment ? And who can tell, but God, what dangers may lie at our doors, even in our native country, or what plots may be abroad, or when God will cause our sun to go down at noon-day, and, in the midst of our peace and security, lay upon us some lasting scourge for our so long neglect and contempt of his most glorious gospel ?”*

The author of
the Reasons,
&c.

The author of these “Reasons and Considerations” was one of the friends from whom the first emigrants had parted with aching hearts, when the *Speedwell* put back a second time to Plymouth, and landed not only the cowardly and faint-hearted, but the faithful and true partners in their enterprise, who were thus compelled to abandon hopes so fondly cherished and defended. He also, as we have seen, was one of those whom the settlers welcomed amid mingling hope and apprehension, when the good ship *Fortune* cast anchor in the Bay. But for such friends privations might be borne ; and we can the better understand the patient, uncomplaining endurance of their hard lot, which the colonists displayed, after glancing at the simple declaration of the motives and inducements to emigration set forth by Robert Cushman. There is no high-coloured picturing of a

paradise of plenty amid the forests of the New World, where the wanderers should forget all cares, and bask in the delights of an eternal summer. Even after the first winter of death, and the second, wherein death's allies, privation and want, had threatened extermination to the colonists, they could still read these "Reasons," and confess their justice and candour, as well as the encouraging assurance which their calm Christian confidence was so well calculated to yield.

"The greatest let that is yet behind," exclaims Robert Cushman, in summing up the hindrances that tempted the lingering pilgrims to hesitate, ere they committed themselves for ever to the unknown solitudes beyond the ocean, "The greatest let is the sweet fellowship of friends." But that hindrance was being removed, not without mingled sorrow tempering the joy with which they welcomed their brethren to the shelter of their humble dwellings in the land of their adoption.

In the month of May, 1622, amid the severe privations to which we have alluded, the colonists had other additions to their cares, arising from the knavery of Squanto, their Indian interpreter. In his ambition to increase his own consequence, both with the settlers and the Indians, he had plotted and counter-plotted in a way that threatened to involve them in an exterminating war. Not the least ingenious device of the Indian plotter for raising his own importance, along with that of his English allies, in the estimation of his fellow-savages, was a story he narrated to them, in order to fill them with the dread of utter extermination, at the will of the colonists, by the same mysterious pestilence which had already depopulated so vast an area of the American continent. Less scrupulous colonists would have readily availed themselves of such falsehoods to secure a hold on the superstitious fears of the Indians, but these exiles for conscience' sake had learned not to do evil that good may come. They hastened to tell the untutored savage that God alone holds in his hands that dread power, before which the Red warriors of the forest had faded away like the leaves of its autumn foliage. "Let me not omit," says the historian of the colony, "one notable, though wicked practice of this Squanto; who, to the end he

CHAP. VIII. might possess his countrymen with the greater fear of us, and so consequently of himself, told them we had the plague buried in our store-house; which, at our pleasure, we could send forth to what place or people we would, and destroy them therewith, though we stirred not from home. Being, upon the forenamed brabbles, sent for by the Governor to this place, where Hobbamock was and some other of us, the ground being broke in the midst of the house, whereunder certain barrels of powder were buried, though unknown to him, Hobbamock asked him what it meant. To whom he readily answered, That was the place wherein the plague was buried, whereof he formerly told him and others. After this Hobbamock asked one of our people, whether such a thing were, and whether we had such command of it; who answered, No; but the God of the English had it in store, and could send it at his pleasure to the destruction of his and our enemies.

"This was, as I take it, about the end of May, 1622; at which time our store of victuals was wholly spent, having lived long before with a bare and short allowance."*

Massasoit's
anger.

Massasoit, the Indian ally of the colonists, was filled with the utmost indignation on learning of the machinations of the knavish interpreter, and demanded that Governor Bradford should give him up to him to be put to death. The Governor interceded for him, and dismissed the Sachem's messenger with many friendly assurances; but he speedily returned, accompanied with others, one of whom bore Massasoit's own knife, with which, according to the Indian custom, the offender was to be beheaded. Along with this, the Indians brought a valuable collection of skins, with which they sought to win the favour, and purchase the concurrence, of the Governor, to this act of savage justice. To this he replied by telling them that it was not the custom of the English to sell men's lives at a price; and while he acknowledged that the traitor well merited death, he again dismissed the messengers to renew the plea of mercy.

While these negotiations were in progress, the colonists found new cause of alarm in a boat which was seen to cross the Bay in front of their settlement, and disappear behind a neighbouring headland. They dreaded the realization of

* Winslow's Relation; Chronicles of the Pilgrims, p. 291.

many rumours which had reached them of a threatened attack by the French, and feared that advantage had been taken of the differences between them and the neighbouring Indians to bring about an alliance between the latter and the European foe of the English colonists. With such foes united to their Indian enemies, all hope of safety or successful defence must have proved utterly vain. But though these fears were not realized, the strange boat was the har-binger of other, and scarcely less imminent, dangers.

The boat proved to belong to a fishing vessel called the Sparrow, which brought an addition of seven new colonists to add to their number, but without the slightest provision for a day's supply of food. At this very time tradition tells that they were reduced to their last pint of corn, which, being parched and distributed among them, yielded the fearful mockery of five seedling kernels to each individual. It may be that the generous hearts of the colonists felt even more sadness at the inhospitable welcome which they were compelled to offer to their friends, than at the additional difficulties arising from added numbers at such a season. The boat, however, though it brought no provision from the Sparrow, conveyed letters pregnant with hope and fear. One from Mr. Weston, one of the merchant adventurers, under whose auspices the first band of New England Pilgrims had sailed, coldly informed them that his interest and theirs were no longer one. The other letter was from Captain Huddleston, a total stranger to the colonists, who commanded a ship engaged in the fishing trade along the North American coast. From the latter they learned of the massacre of four hundred English settlers in Virginia by the savage natives; so that, even in the depth of their severe privations, they had to acknowledge that mercy mingled with their trials, and that the unseen hand of a kind Providence had watched over them in the land of their adoption.

Governor Bradford returned a kind and grateful answer to the friendly Captain; and almost immediately after the departure of the messenger, Mr. Winslow was despatched in their own boat to endeavour to obtain provisions from the fishing ships. Captain Huddleston received Mr Winslow with great kindness, and not only liberally contributed

CHAP. VIII.

Arrival of
new emi-
grants.Captain
Huddleston's
kindness.

CHAP. VIII. to supply the wants of the colonists from his own stores, but wrote to the captains of the neighbouring ships, urging their good services on their behalf. Mr. Winslow found about thirty sail of ships on the fishing station, and, with the generosity of a grateful heart, he is more minute in detailing their liberality, than in recording his own privations. "I was employed," says he, "by our Governor, with orders to take up such victuals as the ships could spare; where I found kind entertainment and good respect, with a willingness to supply our wants. But being not able to spare that quantity I required, by reason of the necessity of some amongst themselves whom they supplied before my coming, they would not take bills for the same, but did what they could freely, wishing their store had been such as they might in greater measure have expressed their own love, and supplied our necessities, for which they sorrowed, provoking one another to the utmost of their abilities; which, although it were not much amongst so many people as were at the plantation, yet through the provident and discreet care of the governors, recovered and preserved strength till our own crop on the ground was ready."

By careful husbandry the colonists had now bread enough to secure a quarter of a pound to each individual, daily, till harvest; and encouraged by this meagre yet most opportune supply, they set to work with renewed energy and thankfulness to their ordinary tasks. The dangers and perils of the second year of the infant colony were over—another victory, won with hard toil and privations, had crowned the trusting faith and indomitable perseverance of the Pilgrim founders of New England.

CHAPTER IX.

THE MERCHANT ADVENTURERS.

The little landscape round
 Was green and woody, and refresh'd the eye.
 It was a spot which you might aptly call
 The Valley of Seclusion! Once I saw
 A wealthy son of commerce saunter by,
 Bristowa's citizen: methought it calm'd
 His thirst of idle gold, and made him muse
 With wiser feelings: for he paused and look'd
 With a pleased sadness, and gazed round again,
 And sigh'd, and said, it ~~was~~ a blessed place!

COLERIDGE.

THE early history of the settlement of New England is intimately connected with the various English companies which were incorporated and chartered at the commencement of the seventeenth century, for the purpose of colonizing America and securing for Britain her shares in the golden spoils of the New World. The ideas which prevailed during the first century after the great discoveries of Columbus, in reference to the right of property in the newly-discovered continents, were of a piece with the arbitrary notions of kingly rights and privileges which were almost universally acknowledged at the same period. When Spain had successfully established her colonies on the islands and the mainland of the New World, and had won for herself golden spoils purchased with the blood of exterminated Indian tribes, she was in the zenith of her power, and successfully dictated laws to the civilized world. Portugal, debarred from these coveted regions by the prior claims of Spain, hastened to outrival the latter by seeking another passage to India,—the object at which Columbus aimed in his western voyage across the Atlantic. Vasco de Gama achieved the object of long-cherished ambition, and sweep-

CHAP. IX.

Claim of
 America's
 discoverers.

CHAP. IX.

ing round the Cape of Storms, now better known as the Cape of Good Hope, he bestowed on Portugal the wealth of India and the title to its seas. Spain and Portugal were now content to possess their separate claims in amicable rivalry, so that the rest of the world were excluded from encroaching on their coveted possessions. The Pope was called in as arbiter, and by his Holiness an imaginary line of division was traced through the Atlantic, on either side of which the fleets of Spain and Portugal were free to pursue their course in solitary majesty, unapproached by envious adventurers of less fortunate states. But the energy of the old Saxon race was not to be restrained by such fanciful titles and imaginary boundaries. In the year 1496, Henry VII. of England granted a patent to John Cabot, a Venetian merchant settled at Bristol, and to his three sons, natives of that old English sea-port, to sail into the western and northern seas, to search for regions hitherto unknown, and to possess and occupy them as vassals of the English crown. They were further bound to land, on their return from each successive voyage, at the English sea-port of Bristol, and to pay to the King a fifth part of the fruits of their voyage. The first fruit of this expedition was the discovery of the American continent, ere its existence was known to the adventurous mariners of Spain; and nearly fourteen years before Columbus, in his third voyage, came in sight of the mainland. England had therefore acquired all the right that priority of discovery could confer, to the possession of the American continent, and might smile at the arrogant pretensions of rival nations. But long before England thought of effecting any permanent settlement on the newly-discovered continent, she had learned to hold in peculiar contempt the assumptions of the Bishop of Rome to any authority in the subdivision of maritime discoveries. When the projects for planting English colonies in Virginia were revived during James's reign, the attempts of Spain to establish a prior title to the American continent were justly regarded as untenable, and both the Parliament and courts of England derided a claim, founded on no better grounds than the grant by the sovereign Pontiff of lands he had never seen, to those who had neither discovered nor occupied them.

Discovery
of the con-
tinent of
America.

England had established her connexion with America by more legitimate and honourable intercourse than the bold but lawless adventures of the Spanish followers of Columbus could secure for Spain. So early as 1593, Sir Walter Raleigh referred, in the House of Commons, to the Newfoundland fisheries as the stay of the west countries and the nursery of the English navy. The wealth which abounded on the great fishing banks of Newfoundland had been honourably secured by English merchants, and an intimate intercourse established between its coasts and the great sea-ports on the west of England. In 1602, Bartholomew Gosnold steered a small trading barque directly across the Atlantic, and in seven weeks reached the bay of Massachusetts. Finding no suitable harbour along the shores at that part of the American continent, he directed his course to the south, and on the 14th of May discovered the promontory to which he gave the appropriate name of Cape Cod. It was the first spot in New England ever trod by Englishmen. Coasting along the adjacent shores, and trafficking with the natives whenever opportunity offered, Gosnold was enabled, after a brief stay, to return to England with a valuable freight, and with a crew prepared to circulate the most favourable reports of a country from which they had returned after so successful a voyage.

CHAP. IX.
Commercial
spirit of
England.

Many similar voyages followed, in which the merchants of Bristol bore a very prominent share, and only four years after the return of Gosnold from New England, two companies of merchants were incorporated by royal charter to colonize and trade with the country of Virginia. The first of these companies, consisting of merchants of the city of London, was empowered to colonize a portion of Virginia extending to a hundred square miles, and ranging between thirty-four and forty-one degrees north latitude. The rival company was constituted of the merchants of the great western sea-ports,—the chief of which were, Plymouth, Bristol, and Exeter,—and had similar privileges conferred on it, within a corresponding range of thirty-eight and forty-five degrees. The London company immediately proceeded to avail themselves of the privileges conferred by their charter right to South Virginia, as it was then termed; and in 1606, the foundations of Jamestown were laid. The

Incorporation of the
Virginia
Companies.

CHAP IX. — patentees of North Virginia, including the whole of what afterwards received the name of New England, were not so successful. Their possessions were destined for other planters, and at the very time that they were engaged in unsuccessful attempts to colonize them with their own emissaries, the Pilgrim Fathers were effecting their escape to Holland, and unconsciously preparing a hardy and self-denying band of adventurers to go and possess the land. Soon after this Captain Smith conferred on North Virginia its name of New England, and the colonizers of the southern states assumed the name of the Virginia Company. It was with the latter company, and not with the chartered claimants of New England, that the first agents despatched by the Pilgrims from Leyden, sought to treat—at the very time when the pestilence was sweeping over the northern savannahs, and the Indian possessors of New England were yielding up the lands of their wild ancestry, for the little span of earth that furnished for them a grave.

Failure of
treaties with
the Virginia
Company.

Happily for the English exiles, Robert Cushman and John Carver, the deputies from Leyden, failed in their treaties for a settlement under the Virginia Company. The character of the adventurers who established the first colonies there has already been described. They included men whose sole religion was the ecclesiastical dogmas of a political creed, and they had willingly adopted the royal requirements, which bound them to follow out the rites and doctrines of the Church of England, in all the services of religion. Amid such colonists the English exiles would only have experienced a change of persecutors, and been subjected to all the toils and privations of the emigrant, without securing the liberty of conscience, for which alone they were content to forego all the fondest ties of home and country.

The Ply-
mouth Com-
pany.

Discouraged by the refusal of the Virginia Company, they next entered into terms for effecting a settlement within the possessions chartered to the Plymouth Company, as the New England planters had come to be termed. But the means of the poor exiles were inadequate to secure the necessary supplies and equipments; and it is at this stage accordingly, that the merchant adventurers appear, by whom their funds were supplemented, and their transport

to the scene of colonization secured, under condition of returns guaranteed by the colonists, proportioned to the amount of money they adventured in the scheme. The emigrants were necessarily placed greatly at the mercy of those who supplied them with the means of prosecuting their scheme of colonization. Their whole money had been exhausted in the preparatory steps necessary for accomplishing their object, and had the merchant adventurers chosen to dictate to them far more unjust and injurious terms than they did, the poor Pilgrims would have had no choice but to submit. "The adventurers," says Captain John Smith, writing only three years after the agreement between them and the English exiles, "who raised the stock to begin and supply this plantation, were about seventy, some merchants, some handicraftsmen, some adventuring great sums, some small, as their affections served. The general stock already employed is about 7000 pounds, by reason of which charge and many crosses, many would adventure no more; but others, that know so great charge cannot be effected without both losses and crosses, are resolved to go forward with it to their powers; which deserve no small commendation and encouragement. These dwell most about London. They are not a corporation, but knit together by a voluntary combination, in a society, without constraint or penalty, aiming to do good, and to plant religion." The good they aimed at, as it proved, was only such as suited their own individual interests, and if any of them strove to plant religion among the exiles for conscience' sake, it was such a religion as would have robbed the Pilgrims of New England of all their hard-won privileges. They were in fact a voluntary trading company, no better, and probably not very much worse, than such corporate bodies usually are. It has almost become a proverb that "corporations have no consciences!" They consist of individuals associated together for a selfish end, and nearly the sole standard of good and evil too frequently resolves itself into the very simple question of success or failure. To this body the colonists had to look for shipping and stores to transport them to New England, and for the first supplies that were to enable them to secure a footing after their arrival. In return for this they entered into agreements by

The mer-
chant ad-
venturers.

CHAP. IX.

which they were to remit to the adventurers the produce of the colony, exchanging with them, after large deductions for the profit of these speculators, such supplies as the emigrants might still stand in need of from the old country. To reason on the conduct of such a body as if it were a benevolent society, united for the sole purpose of aiding the persecuted Nonconformists of England to establish themselves in peace and safety on the New England shores—or a missionary board, whose lofty aim was the evangelizing, by their means, of the wild Indians of the New World, would manifestly be an act of injustice. But unhappily, some of them at least will hardly stand the lowest test we can apply to honest speculators. It was no generous nor princely merchants, such as England has had to boast of for many generations, that ventured their money on the faith of the tried fidelity and upright zeal of the nonconformist exiles of Leyden; though even among the members of this trading partnership there were not wanting some honourable exceptions, to sustain the character of their country, and second the unwearied zeal of the suffering band of colonists.

The Pilgrims
and the Ad-
venturers.

The Pilgrims left “the goodly and pleasant city, which had been their resting-place near twelve years,” in the hope of finding a home where they might worship God according to the dictates of their conscience, and publish his name among some of the wild Indians of the American forests, who had as yet only known the white man as a kidnapper and murderer, or at best as a selfish and overreaching trader for the spoils of the chase. The adventurers made no pretence to any higher object than their own profit. Some of them had not even the patience and worldly wisdom to wait until the settlers at Plymouth had found time to effect a lodgment in their strange home, ere they began to thwart them with rival schemes of short-sighted selfishness. But amid so many appearances of evil, all things were working together for good to the founders of the free state of New England.

Mr. Thomas
Weston.

The boat which hove in sight—and filled the colonists with apprehensions of European allies abetting their Indian foes, at the very time when they were negotiating with the agents of Massasoit on behalf of their treacherous interpreter Squanto—belonged to a fishing vessel despatched to New

England by Mr. Thomas Weston, a citizen of London, and one of the merchant adventurers, who was impatient to reap a speedier harvest from the colony than the returns of the Plymouth settlers seemed to promise. The loss of the *Fortune's* freight probably contributed in some degree to raise dissatisfaction in the minds of the adventurers, though it may be that the report of its value, notwithstanding all the disadvantages under which the colonists had laboured, contributed still farther to excite the cupidity of Mr. Weston, and tempted him to seek the first gleanings of so promising a harvest. His projects, however, were already far advanced before he had time to learn of the welfare of the colonists. He hasted to get rich, and reaped his reward. The *Fortune* sailed on her homeward voyage on the 13th of December 1621, and the letter in which Mr. Weston first intimates his intention of breaking faith, bears date the 17th of January, while the *Fortune's* goodly freight was still safe in her hold, and her crew were anticipating their speedy arrival at their destined port. He had not, therefore, even the poor apology of disappointed hopes to justify his faithless deeds, and yet this was the same Mr. Thomas Weston on whom the Pilgrims had placed no slight reliance, who had visited them at Leyden, had advanced £500 to promote their scheme of colonization, and, with many noisy protestations of sympathy and favour, had hurried from London to Southampton to bid them farewell. When the *Sparrow's* boat sailed into Plymouth harbour, towards the end of May 1622, and landed seven new emigrants to add to the number of the colonists, at the very time they were parting among their feeble company the last grains of their winter's store, it was no unmeet foreshadowing of the future services they had to expect from the same quarter. The boat was freighted with no provisions even for those it brought, nor bore with it any message of good will to the colonists. Already other ships were following on its track, sent out by the same unfriendly adventurer, crowded with rival colonists, destined to cause more sorrow and anxiety to the Pilgrim founders of New England than all the sufferings and privations which they had previously endured.

CHAPTER X.

WESTON'S COLONY.

Why then, you princes,
 Do you with cheeks abash'd behold our works;
 And think them shames, which are indeed nought else
 But the protractive trials of great Jove,
 To find persistive constancy in men?
 The fineness of which metal is not found
 In fortune's love: for then, the bold and coward
 The wise and fool, the artist and unread,
 The hard and soft, seem all affined and kin:
 But, in the wind and tempest of her frown,
 Distinction, with a broad and powerful fan,
 Puffing at all, winnow the light away;
 And what hath mass or matter by itself
 Lies, rich in virtue, and unmingled.

TROILUS AND CRESSIDA.

CHAP. X. THE good ship Sparrow, with its unfriendly shallop and crew, proved but the forerunner of evils that threatened utterly to overturn the whole labours of the New England colonists, pursued with such unwearied constancy in defiance of every obstacle. A letter received by that opportunity, addressed to Governor Carver, conveyed to the colonists the first notice of rivalry and disunion among the adventurers, on whose good faith their success seemed then so greatly to depend. "The shallop," says Bradford, "brings a letter from Mr. Weston of January 17, by which we find he has quite deserted us, and is going to settle a plantation of his own." The ungracious conduct of those who delivered the letter was a sufficiently intelligent illustration of the intentions of the writer, but the journals of the Pilgrims record no complaints or desponding forebodings, though they must now have sometimes cast an anxious look towards the distant horizon, not with the fond hope of descrying a

Weston's
 letter.

friendly sail bearing down on them from the far-off land of their nativity, but with the fear of unfriendly rivals coming to reap where they had sown, and to dispute with them the hard-won fruits of their persevering industry. Their worst fears could hardly surpass the reality. Towards the close of the pleasant month of June the expected colonists arrived. From their citadel on Burial Hill the Plymouth settlers beheld two vessels round the point of Cape Cod and cast anchor in the bay. They proved to be the *Charity* and the *Swan*, two ships freighted by Mr. Thomas Weston, and bringing some sixty emigrants, sent over at his own cost, and commissioned to plant and colonize for his exclusive benefit.

The *Charity* was a large emigrant ship, having on board a numerous body of colonists destined for Virginia, in addition to those who landed at Plymouth. The Pilgrims soon found that their character amply corresponded with that which we have already described as most commonly pertaining to the vagabond settlers of the Virginia Company's plantations. They dreamt of no aim to "do good or to plant religion." No wounded conscience had driven them to forsake the land of their birth, and to break the fond ties of home, in the hope of finding liberty to worship God amid the wilds of the New World. Even Mr. Weston owned that many of them were rude and profane fellows, and Robert Cushman wrote a warning letter to his friends at New Plymouth, in which he says, "They are no men for us, and I fear they will hardly deal so well with the savages as they should. I pray you therefore signify to Squanto that they are a distinct body from us, and we have nothing to do with them, nor must be blamed for their faults, much less can warrant their fidelity." This indeed was the greatest of all the dangers they had to fear. Their most difficult task had already been to deal with their Indian neighbours, and establish an intercourse equally based on the foundation of respect for their courage and confidence in their integrity. The danger, therefore, of being held responsible for the excesses of such men was great, the impossibility of guaranteeing their fidelity was speedily still more apparent, for Mr. John Pierce in writing to them remarks: "They are so base in condition for the most part, as in all appear-

The new
colonists.

CHAP. X.

ance not fit for an honest man's company." An inroad of savage Narragansetts, armed with tomahawk and scalping-knife, could hardly have been more dreaded by the virtuous colonists of New Plymouth, as the arrival of such a band of vagabond adventurers, to taint their new settlement with the worst vices of the Old World. Nevertheless the colonists failed not in good services of kindly hospitality to the unwelcome strangers. "We received them," says Winslow, "into our town, affording them whatsoever courtesy our mean condition could afford." And yet their condition was such as might amply have justified the dismissal of their visitors to seek for themselves such a welcome as the forest wilds had afforded to the first settlers, under more inclement skies. But it was a trial of strength between selfishness and principle, wherein the former overreached herself, and proved how worthless is the policy of shrewd dishonesty and greed.

Generous
hospitality.

It was not alone in the simple rites of hospitality to the intruders that the sterling principles of the Plymouth Pilgrims were made manifest. Their generous faith triumphed over every selfish consideration, so that we almost rejoice in reviewing trials which led to the display of such true Christian nobility. So far from giving way to indignant feelings at the desertion of their cause, by one who had made such protestations of friendly zeal and disinterested sympathy on their behalf, the colonists still generously recurred to the early services of Mr. Weston; and Winslow, after narrating the base ingratitude of their guests, remarks, "Nevertheless, *for their master's sake*, who formerly had deserved well from us, we continued to do them whatsoever good or furtherance we could." Truly it was taking on their enemy the Christian's revenge, and "heaping coals of fire upon his head." "In the mean time," says Winslow, "the body of them refreshed themselves at Plymouth, whilst some most fit sought out a place for them. That little store of corn we had was exceedingly wasted by the unjust and dishonest walking of these strangers; who, though they would sometimes seem to help us in our labour about our corn, yet spared not day and night to steal the same, it being then eatable and pleasant to taste, though green and unprofitable; and though they received much

kindness, set light both by it and us, not sparing to requite the love we showed them, with secret backbitings, revilings, &c., the chief of them being forestalled and made against us before they came, as after appeared. Nevertheless, for their master's sake, who formerly had deserved well from us, we continued to do them whatsoever good or furtherance we could, attributing these things to the want of conscience and discretion, expecting each day when God in his providence would disburden us of them, sorrowing that their overseers were not of more ability and fitness for their places, and much fearing what would be the issue of such raw and unconscionable beginnings.

"At length their coasters returned, having found, in their judgment, a place fit for plantation, within the bay of the Massachusets at a place called by the Indians Wichaguscusset; to which place the body of them went with all convenient speed, leaving still with us such as were sick and lame, by the Governor's permission, though on their parts undeserved; whom our surgeon, by the help of God, recovered gratis for them, and they fetched home, as occasion served.

"They had not been long from us, ere the Indians filled our ears with clamours against them, for stealing their corn, and other abuses conceived by them. At which we grieved the more, because the same men, [the Indians] in mine own hearing, had been earnest in persuading Captain Standish, before their coming, to solicit our Governor to send some of his men to plant by them, alleging many reasons how it might be commodious for us."*

Indian complaints of the new colonists.

It was evil enough for the Pilgrims to have such neighbours planted in ungenerous rivalry beside them on the New England coast, but it would have been infinitely worse had the merchant adventurers, on whose good will they so much depended, insisted on intruding such a vicious rabble into their own community. Then, indeed, it would have been vain for them to warn the Indians that they were blameless of the new comers's deeds, and scarcely less vain would it have proved for the elders of New Plymouth to strive to guard the rising generation, the hope and life of the colony, from their contaminating influence. But as the season of harvest drew near the colonists were once more

* Winslow's Relation. Chronicles of the Pilgrims, p. 297.

CHAP. X.

threatened with a renewal of the privations which had so sorely tried them in the earlier months of the year. Heedless of the stinted and hard-won stores which they had obtained when seemingly on the verge of want, they had generously shared them with their unwelcome guests. Added to this, their crop proved scanty, partly by reason of the weakness of its planters, through want, and partly owing to the base ingratitude and dishonesty of the new emigrants, who had plucked much of it while the ear was still green. They had shipped to the merchant adventurers a costly freight, but they looked in vain for any return; and once more the fading leaves of the forest warned them of the coming winter, and recalled to their remembrance former privations, when they had been better provided against threatened famine.

Arrival of
the Sparrow
and Disco-
very.

The colonists of New England had learned, from their opportune visit to the vessels employed in fishing on the coast, that they might hope at times to interchange courtesies with their fellow-countrymen on that distant shore. Towards the end of August, when their scanty harvest had been reaped, and no adequate provision seemed to be left for the winter, they were gratified with the sight of two English ships entering the Bay. One of these was the Sparrow, returning from the fishing grounds laden with the spoils of the sea, and in consort with it the Discovery, a stranger vessel, but commanded by Captain Jones, the same it is supposed, who, as Master of the Mayflower, had guided the Pilgrim Fathers to Plymouth Bay. To an American, more especially, these records of the early history of his country must be peculiarly attractive, wherein he catches a glimpse of the strange and unknown sail welcomed at long intervals on the solitary shores, where now the merchant navies of the world are crowding to traffic with the descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers of New England. The early colonial historians describe the vessels which visited them from time to time, generally as ships; but probably the little Mayflower, of one hundred and eighty tons, was regarded as no inconsiderable vessel by the colonists, who, had they sailed in a larger ship, would have been compelled to choose a more convenient harbour than the capacious but shallow waters of Plymouth Bay afford.

We must borrow a minute description of the features it still displays, from the pen of an American writer, though the reader will not fail to remember the additional sufferings which the Pilgrims had to endure in consequence of the difficulty of landing along its shallow coasts. "To gain a satisfactory impression," says Dr. Cheever, "of the localities of Plymouth Harbour, we must ascend the Burial Hill, which rises, covered with its forest of grave-stones, directly above the terrace, where the Pilgrims laid out the first rude street of their settlement. It is a very sacred spot in their history, and the view from it is incomparably fine. The town lies below you, around the bosom of the hill. A few majestic elms and lindens rise in beautiful masses of foliage among the buildings on the water side, but in general there are few trees, until the eye passes into that noble ridge of pine forest on the south-east, running out into the sea; a hill-range of the primeval wilderness, as deeply foliaged as the Green Mountains, or the Jura range in Switzerland. The wide harbour is before you, with a bar or spit of land straight stretching across the centre of it, and dividing the inner flats from the deep blue water beyond. I say the wide harbour. And now it depends very much upon the time of tide when you first enter the town, whether you are greatly disappointed or pleased in the first impression. Plymouth harbour is one of those vast inlets so frequent along our coast, where, at high tide, you see a magnificent bay studded with islands, and opening proudly into the open ocean; but at low tide an immense extent of muddy, salt-grassed, and sea-weeded shallows, with a narrow stream winding its way among them to find the sea. Here and there lies the stranded bark of a fisherman, or a lumber schooner amidst the flats, left at low tide, not high and dry, but half sunk in the mud; and the wharves are dripping with rotting sea-weed, and the shores look decaying and deserted; not pebbly or sandy like a beach, but swampy with eel grass, and strewn here and there with the skeletons of old horse-fishes, crabs, muscles, &c., among the withered layers of dry kelp. Now and then, also, the red huts and fish-flakes of the fishermen vary the scene upon the shore, or a small vessel, about as large as the Mayflower, slowly, though with all sail set, follows the course

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of the stream winding among the shallows, the only channel, at low tide, by which there is any approach from the outer open bay, towards the quay or business landing-place of the village. The extent of these flats and shallows at Cape Cod and Plymouth, was the cause of great evil and hardship at first; for, speaking of Cape Cod Bay, where the Pilgrims first came to anchor, they say :—‘ We could not come near the shore by three-quarters of an English mile, because of shallow water, which was a great prejudice to us, for our people, going on shore, were forced to wade a bow-shoot or two in going a-land, which caused many to get colds and coughs, for it was by times freezing weather.’ In these colds and coughs were the seed, to some of a speedy, to others a lingering New England consumption, which soon sowed the harbour side with graves, almost as many as the names of the living.

Now this whole range of low tide scenery, to one who is truly fond of the sea and the shore, in all their freaks, inlets, varieties, and grand and homely moods, is not without its beauty. The poet Crabbe, or the Puritan poet, R. H. Dana, would describe it in such interesting colours that it would wear a most romantic charm; the stranded boats, and the mud flats, and the rotting sea-weed, would have a strange imaginative life put into them. Nevertheless, if these are the first images of the landing of the Pilgrims presented to you, you will experience, probably, a great disappointment.

The Bay at
high tide.

“ But now if you behold this same sweep of sea scenery at high tide, beneath a clear sky, a bright sun, in the colouring of morn or evening, or in the solemn stillness of an autumn moon, what an amazing change! It is no longer the same region. You would think it one of the finest harbours in the world. You would think it was the preference and selection of the human will, after long searching, that brought the Pilgrims hither, and not merely the hand and compulsion of an overruling Providence. You would think how easy and how natural for them to find their way just to this landing-place; and how beautiful and admirable the region, for the thrift of a colony, both in commercial and in country life.”*

* Plymouth Pilgrims, p. 208.

It was not, however, the will of Providence that the Fathers of New England should found a great city, whose swift commercial growth should reward them with the wealth of the Old World, and expose them to its envy and corrupting restraints. The wide-spreading oak, underneath which freedom was to shelter, needed the slow growth of centuries, ere its sappling boughs were knit into sinewy strength, and required its unseen, but strong and far-extending roots, no less than the sightly canopy of its green foliage. It was God's good providence that frustrated the Pilgrims's plans of settling in Virginia, and guided the little Mayflower away from the fertile shores of the Hudson, to land them on the bare rocks of Plymouth Bay.

The opportune arrival of the Sparrow and Discovery in the harbour, furnished the colonists of Plymouth with the means of weathering another winter. They obtained from Captain Jones some supply of such provisions as they stood most in need of; not, however, without paying full value for such seasonable stores. "As he used us kindly," says Winslow in his relation, "so he made us pay largely for the things we had." Such is the passing allusion of these contented and grateful exiles to the usurious dealings of the English trader, who made them pay fully double the original value of their needful supplies. Costly, however, though it was, the supply proved most seasonable; and it is thus thankfully recorded by the historian of the colony:—"Had not the Almighty, in his all-ordering providence, directed him to us, it would have gone worse with us than ever it had been, or after was; for as we had now but small store of corn for the year following, so, for want of supply, we were worn out of all manner of trucking-stuff, not having any means left to help ourselves by trade; but, through God's good mercy towards us, he had wherewith, and did supply our wants on that kind competently."

In addition to the more direct necessities, consisting of bread and other provisions from the ship's stores, the colonists became possessed, in consequence of this transaction, of a stock of clasp-knives, scissors, beads, and trinkets of various kinds, by means of which they were enabled to trade with the Indians both for corn and furs, and thereby to secure the expected returns at a future season for satisfying the

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adventurers who had supplied the original cost of the outfit and passage from England.

By this time, the rival colonists at Wessagusset, (the Indian name which Weymouth then bore,) had been established, with every reasonable prospect of success. They reached the destined site of their settlement, not like the Pilgrim Fathers, amid the bitter frost, and the piercing gales of winter, but in the sweet and sunny month of June, when the birds were singing in the trees, and the green corn-fields, sown around the settlement at New Plymouth, gave evidence of the arts and virtues of civilization having preceded them to the New World. They found too, however undeservedly, a friendly and hospitable reception from their precursors, and were aided with counsel and direction in the choice of a site for their settlement, and in the construction of their dwellings; so that long ere the first blasts of winter were felt, they were provided with effective, though perhaps homely enough, shelter against its severities.

Departure of
the Charity.

Towards the latter end of autumn the Charity returned to England, after having seen the colonists settled in their new habitations, and left them sufficiently provisioned for the winter, while the Swan, a smaller vessel, remained behind for their use.

The Pilgrims agreed, at their urgent request, to co-operate with them in trading with the Indians for corn; and a party, composed of members of both companies, set sail accordingly, in the Swan, accompanied with Squanto as their interpreter.

Difficulties of
the trading
party.

Difficulties speedily beset them. Mr. Richard Green, brother-in-law of Mr. Thomas Weston, who had been appointed to the Governorship of the new colony, suddenly died. Captain Standish, who was employed to replace him in the conduct of the trading expedition of the Swan, was seized with a violent fever; and Governor Bradford had to leave his charge of the settlement at Plymouth to take the command. After incurring considerable dangers and difficulties, in consequence of the total ignorance of the colonists of the pilotage of the shallow seas along the coast, a landing was effected at Manamoyt, and by the aid of their Indian interpreter they speedily entered into friendly nego-

tiations with the natives, and procured, in return for their beads and trinkets, eight hogsheads of corn and beans, in addition to a store of venison and other victuals. The supply was most opportune; for the Plymouth Company were again nearly reduced to straits, chiefly in consequence of the reckless dishonesty and ingratitude of Weston's colonists, who had so shamefully requited their hospitality.

Encouraged by his success, the Governor was bent on prosecuting his trading expedition along the coast; but, says Winslow, "God had otherwise disposed." Just when they were about to resume their southern voyage, Squanto, their Indian interpreter, was suddenly seized with fever, of which he died in a short time. Poor Squanto, notwithstanding the extravagancies and deceits occasionally practised by him, proved an invaluable friend to the New England colonists; and they mourned his loss with sincere and affectionate sorrow. The upright and consistent piety of the Pilgrims, and their uniform friendly and generous treatment of him, had won the heart of the wild Indian. On his death-bed he bequeathed the personal ornaments, and other possessions most prized by him, to several of his English friends, "as remembrances of his love;" and calling Governor Bradford to his side, he besought him to pray that he might go to the Englishman's God in heaven. Such was the end of this poor child of nature; the first that had been brought under the influence of those who made it one of the objects which they sought, in seeking a home amid these savage wilds, and friendly relations with their ancient claimants, "that warring with them after another manner than their wont,—by friendly usage, love, peace, honest and just carriage, and good counsel,—we and they may not only live in peace in that land, and they yield subjection to an earthly prince, but that they may be persuaded at length to embrace the Prince of Peace, Christ Jesus."* It may be that Squanto had learned to bow the knee, and to utter the child-like prayers of a poor Indian savage, to the Englishman's God,—and that not in vain were the last prayers uttered by his couch, asking for him re-union with the Englishman's God in heaven.

Death of the
Indian
Squanto.

* Reasons and Considerations touching the Lawfulness of Removing out of England into the parts of America.

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Return along
the coast.

The death of Squanto overthrew all Governor Bradford's plans, and compelled him to return. Coasting along the Bay, he negotiated various interchanges with the natives, and obtained considerable supplies of corn and beans; but a violent storm having cast away the shallop belonging to the Plymouth colonists, and greatly damaged the small boat of the Swan, they were no longer able to keep up the necessary intercourse between that vessel and the shore, and were compelled to leave their latter purchases behind, committing them to the care of the Indian Sachem. From Nauset, or Eastham, where the Governor had effected these arrangements, he returned home with his company by land, a distance of about fifty miles, leaving the vessel to follow as soon as the weather admitted of her sailing. and soon afterwards the colonists succeeded in recovering their shallop, and bringing home the remainder of their purchases, which were honourably divided between the rival settlements.

Manners of
the Indians.

During their second visit to Nauset, for the purpose of recovering the shallop and corn, an incident occurred, which is worth quoting, as an illustration of Indian manners at that early period:—"Having occasion," says Winslow, "to lie on the shore, laying their shallop in a creek not far from them, an Indian came into the same, and stole certain beads, scissors, and other trifles, out of the same; which, when the captain missed, he took certain of his company with him, and went to the sachem, telling him what had happened, and requiring the same again, or the party that stole them, (who was known to certain of the Indians,) or else he would revenge it on them before his departure; and so took leave for that night, being late, refusing whatsoever kindness they offered. On the morrow the sachem came to their rendezvous, accompanied with many men, in a stately manner, who saluted the captain in this wise. He thrust out his tongue, that one might see the root thereof, and therewith licked his hand from the wrist to the finger's end, withal bowing the knee, striving to imitate the English gesture, being instructed therein formerly by Tisquantum. His men did the like, but in so rude and savage a manner, as our men could scarce forbear to break out in open laughter. After salutation, he delivered the beads and other things to the cap-

tain, saying he had much beaten the party for doing it; causing the women to make bread, and bring them according to their desire; seeming to be very sorry for the fact, but glad to be reconciled. So they departed and came home in safety, where the corn was equally divided as before."

The Governor renewed his trading intercourse with the neighbouring Indians from time to time, though not without receiving frequent evidence of the evil effects resulting from the unprincipled conduct of Weston's colonists. By these expeditions the settlers of Plymouth were not only secured in a sufficient supply for the winter, but were able to store up furs and other native produce, for exporting to England, as opportunity might offer. Towards the end of April, when new hopes were once more cheering the Pilgrims with the anticipations suggested by the approaching summer, the disheartening news was brought to Plymouth, that Massasoit, their Indian ally, was dangerously ill. Winslow was immediately despatched on a friendly visit to him, furnished with medicines and cordials, and accompanied by Mr. John Hampden, a gentleman from London, who had passed the winter with them, and who has been supposed by some, though on little better evidence than the name, to have been the celebrated English patriot. Their visit to the sick-bed of the sachem proved altogether fortunate, and their medical skill was productive of the best effects. "Many," says Winslow, "while we were there, came to see him; some, by their report, from a place not less than an hundred miles. To all that came one of his chief men related the manner of his sickness, how near he was spent; how, amongst others, his friends the English came to see him, and how suddenly they recovered him to this strength they saw, he being now able to sit upright of himself.

Illness of
Massasoit

"The day before our coming, another sachem being there, told him that now he might see how hollow-hearted the English were, saying, if we had been such friends in deed, as we were in show, we would have visited him in this his sickness, using many arguments to withdraw his affections, and to persuade him to give way to some things against us, which were motioned to him not long before. But upon

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Visit to Con-
batant.

this his recovery, he brake forth into these speeches : Now I see the English are my friends and love me; and whilst I live, I will never forget this kindness they have shown me."

On their return to Plymouth, they lodged for a night with a neighbouring chief, with whom the following very characteristic intercourse took place. "That night, through the earnest request of Conbatant, who till now remained at Sawaams, or Puckanokick, we lodged with him at Mattapuyt. By the way I had much conference with him, so likewise at his house, he being a notable politician, yet full of merry jests and squibs, and never better pleased than when the like are returned again upon him. Amongst other things he asked me, if in case he were thus dangerously sick, as Massasoyt had been, and should send word thereof to Patuxet for *maskiet*, that is, physic, whether then Mr. Governor would send it; and if he would, whether I would come therewith to him. To both which I answered, Yea; whereat he gave me many joyful thanks. After that, being at his house, he demanded further, how we durst, being but two, come so far into the country. I answered, where was true love there was no fear; and my heart was so upright towards them, that for mine own part I was fearless to come amongst them. But, said he, if your love be such, and it bring forth such fruits, how cometh it to pass, that when we come to Patuxet, you stand upon your guard, with the mouths of your pieces presented towards us? Whereupon I answered, it was the most honourable and respective entertainment we could give them; it being an order amongst us so to receive our best respected friends; and as it was used on the land, so the ships observed it also at sea, which Hobbamock knew and had seen observed. But shaking the head, he answered that he liked not such salutations.

Religious
conversation
with the In-
dians.

Further, observing us to crave a blessing on our meat before we did eat, and after to give thanks for the same, he asked us, what was the meaning of that ordinary custom. Hereupon I took occasion to tell them of God's works of creation and preservation, of his laws and ordinances, especially of the ten commandments; all which they hearkened unto with great attention, and liked well of; only the seventh commandment they excepted against, thinking

there were many inconveniences in it, that a man should be tied to one woman; about which we reasoned a good time. Also I told them, that whatsoever good things we had, we received from God, as the author and giver thereof; and therefore craved his blessing upon that we had, and were about to eat, that it might nourish and strengthen our bodies; and having eaten sufficient, being satisfied therewith, we again returned thanks to the same our God, for that our refreshing, &c. This all of them concluded to be very well; and said, they believed almost all the same things, and that the same power that we called God, they called *Kiehtan*. Much profitable conference," adds Winslow, "was occasioned hereby, which would be too tedious to relate, yet was no less delightful to them, than comfortable to us. Here we remained only that night, but never had better entertainment amongst any of them."*

One of the most important fruits of this journey was the discovery of a plot concocted by a neighbouring Indian tribe for utterly exterminating the colonists at Wessagusset. It was a danger brought on Weston's colony chiefly in consequence of their own dishonest and vicious practices, but it threatened to involve the peaceful settlers at Plymouth in the same unmerited fate, had they not thus providentially learned of the Indians's designs in time to counteract them. When they reached Plymouth, they found that Captain Standish had left the previous day in company with one of the Indians who had been employed to decoy him from the colony, where his military skill was of so much avail. Fortunately he was driven back by contrary winds; and having been informed of the infamous plot that was in progress, the Indian was quietly dismissed, without making him aware of their knowledge of his designs, and Governor Bradford immediately proceeded to adopt all needful steps for the defence of the colony.

Discovery of
an Indian
plot.

• Chronicles of the Pilgrims, p. 324.

CHAPTER XI.

THE FIRST INDIAN WAR.

Whoso shrinks or falters now,
Whoso to the yoke would bow,
Brand the craven on his brow.

Give us bright though broken rays,
Rather than eternal haze,
Clouding o'er the full-orb'd blaze.

Take your land of sun and bloom;
Only leave to Freedom room
For her plough, and forge, and loom.

WHITTIER.

CHAP. XI. As time wore on, the state of Weston's colonists grew daily worse. The Charity set sail for England in the month of October, leaving them well housed and provisioned for the winter; and furnished with a vessel by which they could command a ready intercourse with the natives along an extensive coast, and by barter or by fishing, secure for themselves abundant stores, and the means of future export to England. But all these advantages were thrown away on the reckless and improvident band of emigrants, whom Weston had selected to establish a colony in opposition to the simple and pious founders of Plymouth. In his short-sighted worldly wisdom, Weston had flattered himself that a band of active and daring spirits, unencumbered by wives or children, and not over scrupulous as to the means to be used for gaining their purpose, could hardly fail of success in opposition to the New England Pilgrims, who numbered among them old men and maidens, wives and helpless infants; and were straitened in their dealings with the rude Indian by the constant suggestions of tender consciences. All experience, however, disproves the popular notion that the domestic relationships furnish an impediment to the

Weston's
short-sighted
policy.

progress of early colonization, or indeed to the rise of man in any of the social spheres of life. The stimulus which the calls of affection and duty supply far more than compensate for these added claims, while the social and domestic comforts which woman is able to create around the most lowly hearth, are such as without her presence no wealth can secure.

The return of spring brought with it no cheering hopes to the settlers at Wessagusset. Improvidence, dishonesty, and frequent dissensions, had squandered their means and completely debarred them from any united efforts for the general good. Towards the end of February, frequent complaints were brought to Plymouth, by the Indians, of their unjust and faithless dealings, while these received abundant confirmation by the few of their number who were really honestly disposed deserting the settlement, and imploring permission to unite themselves with the colonists of Plymouth. All attempts at restraint by those who still retained a nominal authority proved utterly vain. These men, who, by ordinary industry might have secured ample means to supply every want, squandered their bread and corn, without even preserving enough of the latter for seed, wherewith to provide for the golden fruits of harvest. So utterly lost were they to all honesty or virtuous shame, that they at length degraded themselves to beg a meal of food from the neighbouring Indians, and hired themselves to fetch wood and draw water for them, that they might share in the more provident stores of the savages. From this abject servitude they sought relief by robbing the Indians's stores, and though there was still authority enough left in the Governor of the colony to visit such crimes with the pillory and the lash, this was altogether ineffectual either for the reformation of the unprincipled emigrants, or the mollification of the exasperated savages, who had thus been taught both to hate and to despise their white neighbours.

Spring-time
at Wessagus-
set.

Towards the end of February, the reckless planters of Weston's settlement began to dread the future consequences of their total neglect of the duties of the season, and having wasted their whole seed corn, they again applied to the Indians to furnish the needful supply; but all their approaches were met with sullen and determined refusal. They would

Contempt of
the Indians.

CHAP. XI. — neither sell nor barter to them, nor enter into any friendly interchange of good services ; though now, when too late, the new settlers would gladly have won their favour by the most humiliating concessions. Disappointed by such obstinate rejection of all friendly overtures, the most unscrupulous of them resolved to take what they wanted by force. Fortunately for their more honest neighbours at Plymouth, it was thought advisable to consult with the latter ere committing themselves to so perilous a course. "Some," says Winslow, "more honest minded, advised John Sanders, their overseer, first to write to Plymouth ; and if the Governor advised him thereunto, he might the better do it. This course was well liked, and an Indian was sent with all speed with a letter to our Governor, the contents whereof were to this effect ; that being in great want, and their people daily falling down, he intended to go to Munhiggen, where was a plantation of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, to buy bread from the ships that came thither a fishing, with the first opportunity of wind ; but knew not how the colony would be preserved till his return. He had used all means both to buy and borrow of Indians, whom he knew to be stored, and he thought maliciously withheld it, and therefore was resolved to take it by violence, and only waited the return of the messenger, which he desired should be hastened, craving his advice therein, promising also to make restitution afterward. The Governor, upon the receipt hereof, asked the messenger what store of corn they had, as if he had intended to buy of them ; who answered, very little more than that they reserved for seed, having already spared all they could.

Violent designs of the new colonists.

Governor Bradford's letter of warning and advice.

"Forthwith the Governor and his assistant sent for many of us to advise with them herein ; who, after serious consideration, no way approving of this intended course, the Governor answered his letter, and caused many of us to set our hands thereto ; the contents whereof were to this purpose : We altogether disliked their intendment, as being against the law of God and nature, showing how it would cross the worthy ends and proceedings of the King's Majesty, and his honourable Council for this place, both in respect of the peaceable enlarging of his Majesty's dominions, and also of the propagation of the knowledge and law of God, and the glad tidings of salvation, which we and they

were bound to seek, and were not to use such means as would breed a distaste in the savages against our persons and professions, assuring them their master would incur much blame hereby, neither could they answer the same. For our own parts, our case was almost the same with theirs, having but a small quantity of corn left, and were enforced to live on ground-nuts, clams, muscles, and such other things as naturally the country afforded, and which did and would maintain strength, and were easy to be gotten; all which things they had in great abundance, yea, oysters also, which we wanted; and therefore necessity could not be said to constrain them thereunto. Moreover, that they should consider, if they proceeded therein, all they could so get would maintain them but a small time, and then they must perforce seek their food abroad; which, having made the Indians their enemies, would be very difficult for them, and therefore much better to begin a little the sooner, and so continue their peace; upon which course they might with good conscience desire and expect the blessing of God; whereas on the contrary they could not.

“Also that they should consider their own weakness, being most swelled and diseased in their bodies, and therefore the more unlikely to make their party good against them, and that they should not expect help from us in that or any the like unlawful actions. Lastly, that howsoever some of them might escape, yet the principal agents should expect no better than the gallows, whensoever any special officer should be sent over by his Majesty, or his Council for New England, which we expected, and who would undoubtedly call them to account for the same. These were the contents of our answer, which was directed to their whole colony. Another particular letter our Governor sent to John Sanders, showing how dangerous it would be for him above all others, seeing he was their leader and commander; and therefore in friendly manner advised him to desist.”*

The threats, more than the honest warnings of Governor Bradford, induced the unprincipled agents of Weston to abandon their project; but this only delayed without averting the dangers in which their vices had involved the whole

* Chronicles of the Pilgrims, p. 328.

CHAP. XL

Intelligence
of the Indian
conspiracy.

English colonists of New England. The exasperated Indians had resolved to drive from their shores the base miscreants who alternately excited their anger and contempt by meanness and faithless dishonesty. Early in March the Governor obtained undoubted intelligence of a wide-spread conspiracy among the Indians, which was directed indiscriminately against all who bore the hated badge of the Pale Faces. On the 23d of March 1623, the whole colonists of Plymouth were assembled in public court, the Governor laid before them the evidence he had received of the Indian conspiracy, and after grave declaration, the unanimous voice of the Pilgrims declared for war. It was a momentous era in the history of the colony, and the pious Pilgrims keenly felt the necessity which thus compelled them to become the emissaries of death to those whom they had desired to visit as the messengers of eternal life, and the ministers of the Prince of Peace. "This business," says one of the colonists, "was no less troublesome than grievous, especially because we knew no means to deliver our own countrymen and preserve ourselves than by returning the malicious and cruel purposes of these Indians upon their own heads, and causing them to fall into the same pit they had digged for others; though it much grieved us to shed the blood of those whose good we ever intended and aimed at as a principal object in all our proceedings." It cannot but have added to the grief with which they viewed the dire necessity of war, that they must have felt how much more their own countrymen were the cause of it, than the Indians, against whom they now sought to defend them; though probably at that time they had been only very partially informed of the unprincipled dealings of these men with their Indian neighbours. Had not these Pilgrim Fathers forsaken the Old World, parted from many friends, and bade a sorrowful farewell to their native land, under the influence of "a great hope and inward zeal of laying some good foundation for the propagating and advancing the gospel of the kingdom of Christ in these remote parts of the world; yea, though they should be but as stepping-stones unto others for performing of so great a work?"—and now in their third year it had come to this. They were to fight with the weapons of this world, and meet the Indian hand to

hand in the deadly struggle; not tenderly warning him of an hereafter, and whispering in his ear the name of Him who hath made of one blood all that dwell upon the earth, but hurrying him more swiftly to the dark and hopeless grave, whither he was already hastening,—

“No reckoning made, but sent to his account
With all his imperfections on his head.”

Well might their good pastor, Robinson, write from Leyden when he learned of the first Indians who had perished by their hands, “how happy a thing had it been that you had converted some before you killed any!” It must be confessed that this Indian war is the most painful incident recorded in these annals of the Pilgrim Fathers. It is not because these brave pioneers of civilization have taken up arms to defend their hearths against the invasion of the savage, that we regard their first warfare with sorrowful regret. We are rather called upon to admire the calm and unchanging courage which this little handful of men displayed when menaced by so merciless and powerful a foe. But there was certainly more of the guile of the serpent in their military tactics, than can well be reconciled with the high and holy calling in obedience to which they professed to have reared their home near the rude wigwams of the benighted Indian. It was resolved in the deliberations at New Plymouth that they should meet guile with guile, and “as it was impossible to deal with the Indians upon open defiance, to take them in such traps as they lay for others.” Captain Standish set out accordingly with eight companions, under the pretence of trading as at other times. They saw sufficient evidence of the enmity with which the Indians regarded them, and the Indians in like manner, notwithstanding the friendly guise which Captain Standish still deemed it prudent to assume, soon began to suspect they were discovered. One of them on his return to the Indian settlement reported, that “he saw by the Captain’s eyes he was angry in his heart.” Captain Standish, however, still watched his time, until, having got the chief leaders of the threatened conspiracy together in one of the Indian wigwams, he suddenly gave the word to his men, secured the door, and springing upon Pecksuot, one of the fiercest of the Indians, he stabbed him to the heart with his own knife.

Reflections
suggested by
the first In-
dian war.

Tactics of
war.

CHAP. XL.

Seven Indians in all perished by their hands, but though thus fierce in the deadly struggle to which they felt themselves driven by the stern dictates of necessity, they showed a becoming moderation in what followed. They dismissed the women who had fallen into their hands, refusing to spoil them of their beaver coats, or to meddle with any of the Indian property. The whole party returned safely to Plymouth, to the great joy of the colonists, bringing with them the head of Wituwamat, an Indian Sachem who had breathed against them the most deadly vengeance, and spoken of their leaders with open contempt. This barbarous trophy was set up on the fort as a terror to their foes. One of them who had been seized and kept in irons during the absence of Captain Standish and his party, was released and commanded to bear this message from the Governor to his Sachem : " That for our parts it never entered into our hearts to take such a course with them, till their own treachery enforced us thereunto, and therefore they might thank themselves for their own overthrow ; yet since he had begun, if again by any the like courses he did provoke him, his country should not hold him ; for he would never suffer him or his to rest in peace, till he had utterly consumed them ; and therefore should take this as a warning ; further, that he should send to Patuxet three Englishmen [of Weston's colony] he had, and not kill them ; also that he should not spoil the pale and houses at Wichaguscusset ; and that this messenger should either bring the English, or an answer, or both ; promising his safe return.

Governor
Bradford's
message to
the Indians.

Terror of the
Indians.

" This message was delivered, and the party would have returned with an answer, but was at first dissuaded by them, whom afterwards they would, but could not, persuade to come to us. At length, though long, a woman came and told us, that Obtakiest was sorry that the English were killed before he heard from the Governor ; otherwise he would have sent them. Also she said, he would fain make his peace again with us, but none of his men durst come to treat about it, having forsaken his dwelling, and daily removed from place to place, expecting when we would take further vengeance on him.

" Concerning those other people, that intended to join with the Massacheuseuks against us, though we never went

against any of them ; yet this sudden and unexpected execution, together with the just judgment of God upon their guilty consciences, hath so terrified and amazed them, as in like manner they forsook their houses, running to and fro like men distracted, living in swamps and other desert places, and so brought manifold diseases amongst themselves, whereof very many are dead ; as Canacum, the sachem of Manomet, Aspinet, the sachem of Nauset, and Ianough, sachem of Mattachiest. This sachem in his life, in the midst of these distractions, said the God of the English was offended with them, and would destroy them in his anger ; and certainly it is strange to hear how many of late have died, and still daily die amongst them. Neither is there any likelihood it will easily cease ; because through fear they set little or no corn, which is the staff of life, and without which they cannot long preserve health and strength. From one of these places a boat was sent with presents to the Governor, hoping thereby to work their peace ; but the boat was cast away, and three of the persons drowned, not far from our plantation. Only one escaped, who durst not come to us, but returned ; so as none of them dare come amongst us.”*

Thus complete had been the victory of the Plymouth colonists, accomplished by such slight and seemingly inadequate means. But what, meanwhile, had been the fate of the wretched band of adventurers whose crimes and folly had led to such results ? The dishonest speculator—who had faithlessly sought by means of this plantation to secure for himself the gains which he had become bound long before to share with the Pilgrim Fathers who first sailed in the *Mayflower*—came shortly afterwards, disguised like a guilty coward, to learn of the prosperity of his new colony, “ who being all able men, had boasted of their strength and what they would bring to pass, in comparison with the people at Plymouth, who had many women, children, and weak ones with them.”† But the race is not always to the swift, nor the battle to the strong. The weak ones were still there, strong in their honest virtue and their simple trust in the good providence of God ; but the settlement of

Fate of Weston's colony.

* *Chronicles of the Pilgrims*, p. 344.

† *Prince's New England Chronicles*, vol. i. p. 132.

CHAP. XI. Wessagusset was utterly deserted and desolate. Some had been hanged by their comrades for their crimes, more had perished by the Indian's knife, or fled to escape just vengeance, and the few that survived were indebted for their safety to the hospitable shelter of their despised and cruelly wronged neighbours.

Weston's
knavery and
deceit.

Weston himself reached the shores of America, only to receive good at the hands of those on whom he had been the means of bringing so many evils ; and he showed himself the worthy originator of such a band of profligate and faithless adventurers, as had been thus speedily cast out from New England. "Shortly after Mr. Weston's people went to the eastward," says Governor Bradford, "he comes there himself with some of the fishermen, under another name and the disguise of a blacksmith ; where he hears the ruin of his plantation, and getting a shallop with a man or two comes on to see how things are ; but in a storm is cast away in the bottom of the bay between Pascataquak and Merrimak river, and hardly escapes with his life. Afterwards he falls into the hands of the Indians, who pillage him of all he saved from the sea, and strip him of all his clothes to his shirt. At length he gets to Pascataquak, borrows a suit of clothes, finds means to come to Plymouth, and desires to borrow some beaver of us. Notwithstanding our straits, yet in consideration of his necessity, we let him have one hundred and seventy odd pounds of beaver, with which he goes to the eastward, stays his small ship and some of his men, buys provisions and fits himself, which is the foundation of his future courses ; and yet he never repaid us any thing save reproaches, and became our enemy on all occasions."*

The entire history of these rival settlements furnishes a most eloquent commentary on the true elements of a nation's strength. It seems as if a great experiment had been tried on the remote shores of New England, to demonstrate the fact that virtue and true piety are the surest elements of national greatness. "Except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it ; except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain."

* Prince's New England Chronicles, vol. I. p. 134.

CHAPTER XII.

DESPONDENCY AND THANKSGIVING.

Summer is come; for every spray now springs;
 The hart hath hung his old head on the pale:
 The buck in brake his winter coat he flings;
 The fishes fleet with new repaired scale;
 The adder all her slough away she flings;
 The swift swallow pursueth the flies small;
 The busy bee her honey now she myngs;
 Winter is worn, that was the flowers' bale
 And thus I see, among these pleasant things
 Each care decays, and yet my sorrow springs.

LORD SURREY.

RETURNING spring once more brought to the Pilgrim colo- CHAP. XII.
 nists of New England fresh privations and sorrows. Their The third
 carefully husbanded stores, which would have sufficed for spring.
 their own frugal housekeeping, had been generously squan-
 dered on the thankless settlers of Weston's colony. They
 had encroached even on the stores for seed, in order to
 minister to their necessities; and when the month of April
 arrived, they were compelled to abandon all other labour in
 order to get the seed into the ground, though at the time
 they had none left to furnish bread for their present neces-
 sities, and were frequently compelled to betake themselves
 to the sea-shore, and gather the shell-fish cast up by the
 tide, as the only means of furnishing their table with a
 meal. During the previous seasons they had sown from
 the public stock, and gathered in a common harvest, but
 now it was resolved to adopt a method which should dis-
 tinguish between the idle and industrious, and leave each
 family dependent on the exertions of its members. A por-
 tion of land was allotted to each individual,—land being re-
 served for the maintenance of public officers, fishermen, and
 others, whose services were demanded for the general good.

CHAP. XII.

Great
drought.

The colonists resumed the labours of the field with renewed energy and zeal. The ground was speedily prepared and sown with seed; the sun smiled above, and genial showers watered the earth, filling their hearts with thankfulness in the hopes of future plenty. So it continued till the close of May. But new trials awaited them. "It pleased God for our further chastisement," says Winslow, "to send a great drought; insomuch as in six weeks after the latter setting there scarce fell any rain; so that the stalk of what was first set began to send forth the ear, before it came to half growth, and that which was later was not like to yield any at all, both blade and stalk hanging the head, and changing the colour in such manner, as we judged it utterly dead. Our beans also ran not up according to their wonted manner, but stood at a stay, many being parched away, as though they had been scorched before the fire. Now were our hopes overthrown, and we discouraged, our joy being turned into mourning."

Destitution
of the colo-
nists.

Governor Bradford furnishes a most touching picture of the destitution of the colony at this period. The men were divided into companies of six or seven each, who by turns went out with their boat and nets, and returned not, says he, though five or six days out; knowing there was nothing at home. To add to their sorrow the colonists learned of abundant supplies that had been shipped for them many months before, and now the shattered remnants of a wreck which were drifted into the bay, seemed to the desponding Pilgrims to furnish undoubted evidence that their friends and their long expected stores had perished together in the storm. "God," says Winslow, "seemed to deprive us of all future hopes. The most courageous were discouraged, because He who had hitherto been our shield and supporter now seemed in his anger to arm himself against us, and who can withstand the fierceness of his wrath?" But though thus cast down and despairing, they did not abandon the ancient stronghold of faith. Privately and unitedly they offered up earnest prayers to God, with solemn confessions of sin. A day of fasting and humiliation was appointed by public authority, and especially set apart for casting themselves as a people on the mercy and long-suffering goodness of God, who had so often proved himself a

Day of fast-
ing and hu-
miliation.

very present help in time of trouble. Such incidents as this prove, more than any thing else could do, the nature of that vital principle by which the weak and apparently helpless band of exiles, cast on the desolate shores of New England, took root and established themselves, until they grew into a powerful state, which the Old World still regards with wonder and admiration; while numerous and powerful bodies of emigrants, sustained by the wealth of England, and furnished with annual supplies by her fleets, failed to leave behind them any enduring traces of the settlements they went forth to establish. The spirit of religious faith and humble trust in the overruling providence of God never forsook the Pilgrim Fathers, and was most strongly present in their minds as a vital principle of sustaining power in those dark hours of trial when all other hope seemed vain. This it was which enabled them to surmount the difficulties and dangers, before which the bands of England's most daring adventurers had quailed; and we shall best understand its nature by recording its manifestations in the language of the old Pilgrim's narrative. "These and the like considerations," says Winslow, "moved not only every good man privately to enter into examination with his own estate between God and his conscience, and so to humiliation before Him, but also more solemnly to humble ourselves together before the Lord by fasting and prayer. To that end a day was appointed by public authority, and set apart from all other employments; hoping that the same God, which had stirred us up hereunto, would be moved hereby in mercy to look down upon us, and grant the request of our dejected souls, if our continuance there might any way stand with his glory and our good. But oh the mercy of our God! who was as ready to hear, as we to ask; for though in the morning, when we assembled together, the heavens were as clear, and the drought as like to continue as ever it was, yet, (our exercise continuing some eight or nine hours,) before our departure, the weather was overcast, the clouds gathered together on all sides, and on the next morning distilled such soft, sweet, and moderate showers of rain, continuing some fourteen days, and mixed with such seasonable weather, as it was hard to say whether our withered corn or drooping affections were most quick-

Seasonable
rain.

CHAP. XII. ened or revived ; such was the bounty and goodness of our God."

Ideas of Providence.

The Pilgrim Fathers were no superstitious visionaries who looked for miraculous interpositions of Providence on their behalf in every emergency. In Robert Cushman's "Reasons and Considerations," he shows this most clearly, discriminating between God's extraordinary dealings with his chosen people of old, and the overruling providence by which alone he now manifests his care over all his works. "God of old," says he, "did so guide his people, but now he doth not, but speaks in another manner, and so we must apply ourselves to God's present dealing, and not to his wonted dealing ; and as the miracle of giving manna ceased when the fruits of the land became plenty, so God having such a plentiful storehouse of directions in his Holy Word, then must not now any extraordinary revelations be expected." So did the old Pilgrims reason, free from the slightest tincture of fanaticism or superstition ; but they did not the less surely believe that the eye of the Lord is still upon all his works, and his ear is still ready to hear the prayer of the destitute, and himself to be the help and the refuge of his people.

Surprise of the Indians.

The Indians had not failed to note, in their frequent intercourse with the colonists, that on each returning seventh day they rested from all worldly labour, however pressing their necessities might be, and devoted their Sabbath to the worship of the Great Spirit, whose overruling providence was dimly shadowed forth in the traditional faith of the rude children of the forest. It chanced at the period appointed for this solemn fast, that a number of Indians had assembled from various causes at the settlement, among whom was Hobbamock, the friendly Indian, who, to a great extent, supplied the loss of Squanto, their former interpreter. The Indians gazed with their silent but observant habits on the colonists, wondering to see them gathering together for worship, and no signs of their wonted industry, although it was only three days since the Sunday of the Pale Faces. By a happy union of apparently very diverse uses, the fort they had reared as their stronghold on Burial Hill served in like manner as the place of public worship. To this indeed it owes its latter designation, the colonists

having naturally reverted after a time to the custom of their English forefathers, and chosen the site of their burial ground around the sacred place of their Sabbath assemblies. Not now to the warrior's fort and citadel, but to the Christian's stronghold were they betaking themselves. The Indians strove in vain to conceive what this could mean, and at length Hobbamock demanded of a boy the reason of such unwonted procedure. The effect on the minds of the wondering Indians may readily be conceived, when, as at the prayer of the prophet Elijah, "the heaven was black with clouds and wind, and there was a great rain."

The virtues of Hobbamock, their Indian friend and interpreter, appear to have been held in high estimation by the colonists. His services to the settlement had proved of great value, and his hearty sympathy and co-operation with them in all their proceedings, seem completely to have overcome the feelings of distrust, which their ordinary intercourse with their Indian neighbours must have induced in the minds of the Pilgrims. In the following year he was completely adopted into their number as a member of the colony of New Plymouth. In the allotment of the lands of the settlement in 1624, a portion was set apart as "Hobbamock's ground;" and in a work published in London about twenty years later, entitled "New England's First Fruits," the following touching record of his fidelity occurs:—"As he increased in knowledge, so in affection, and also in his practice, reforming and conforming himself accordingly; and though he was much tempted by enticements, scoffs, and scorns from the Indians, yet could he never be gotten from the English, nor from seeking after their God, but died amongst them, leaving some good hopes in their hearts that his soul went to rest."

Hobbamock,
the inter-
preter.

It is curious, and not unworthy of note in passing, that the name of this Indian, whom the pious Pilgrims thus regarded as probably the first fruits of their missionary zeal, is the same which Winslow notes as that applied by the natives to the spirit of evil. The coincidence seems to have escaped their observation, or they would hardly have failed to notice the deliverance of the plighted bondsman of Satan, to become the first freedman of the gospel among the natives of New England. It may not be unmeet to glance for a

Indian creed.

CHAP. XII. moment at the Indian's creed,—a faith not devoid of some sublimity in its most prominent features, though deformed by many degrading superstitions. “A few things,” writes Winslow,—in a narrative appended to his historic relation, —“I have observed amongst the Indians, both touching their religion and sundry other customs amongst them. And first, whereas myself and others, in former letters, wrote that the Indians about us are a people without any religion, or knowledge of any God, therein I erred, though we could then gather no better; for as they conceive of many divine powers, so of one, whom they call *Kiehtan*, to be the principal and maker of all the rest, and to be made by none. He, they say, created the heavens, earth, sea, and all creatures contained therein; also that he made one man and one woman, of whom they and we and all mankind came; but how they became so far dispersed, that know they not. At first, they say, there was no sachem or king, but *Kiehtan*, who dwelleth above in the heavens, whither all good men go when they die, to see their friends, and have their fill of all things. This his habitation lieth far westward in the heavens, they say; thither the bad men go also, and knock at his door, but he bids them *quatchet*, that is to say, walk abroad, for there is no place for such; so that they wander in restless want and penury. Never man saw this *Kiehtan*; only old men tell them of him, and bid them tell their children, yea, to charge them to teach their posterities the same, and lay the like charge upon them. This power they acknowledge to be good; and when they would obtain any great matter, they meet together and cry unto him; and so likewise for plenty, victory, &c., sing, dance, feast, give thanks, and hang up garlands and other things in memory of the same.

Hobhamock,
the Spirit of
Evil

“Another power they worship, whom they call *Hobhamock*, and to the northward of us, *Hobbamoqui*; this, as far as we can conceive, is the devil. Him they call upon to cure their wounds and diseases. When they are curable, he persuades them he sends the same for some conceived anger against them, but upon their calling upon him, he can and doth help them. But when they are mortal and not curable in nature, then he persuades them *Kiehtan* is angry, and sends them, whom none can cure; insonmuch as in that

respect only they somewhat doubt whether he be simply good, and therefore in sickness never call upon him.”

CHAP. XII.

As the apprehensions of the colonists were dispelled in so remarkable a manner, they learned soon after that their sorrow at the supposed loss of the vessel freighted with their expected stores had been no less premature. The ship was safe, and on its way to New England with the needful supplies, while the dangers and long delays it had experienced, were fruitful to them in unlooked for blessings. While the colonists were mourning over the wreck flung on their coast, not only as the evidence of ruined hopes, but of friends intombed amid the raging billows of the Atlantic, God in his good providence was watching over them, and working out for them a great deliverance. The good prospects of the New England colonists, which were probably exaggerated in the eyes of the English adventurers by their unwearied patience and contentment, had excited the covetous longings of others besides Mr. Thomas Weston.

Apprehensions dispelled.

Mr. John Pierce, with shrewder foresight than Weston, resolved to secure to himself the first fruits of their success, not by entering into competition with them, but by rendering them completely subservient to his interests. “We received,” says Bradford, “letters from the adventurers in England of December 22 and April 9 last, wherein they say, ‘It rejoiceth us much to hear those good reports that divers have brought home of you;’ and give an account, that last fall, a ship, the *Paragon*, sailed from London with passengers, for New Plymouth; being fitted out by Mr. John Pierce, in whose name our first patent was taken, his name being only used in trust; but when he saw we were here hopefully seated, and by the success God gave us, had obtained favour with the Council for New England, he gets another patent of a larger extent, meaning to keep it to himself, allow us only what he pleased, hold us as his tenants and sue to his courts as chief lord. But meeting with tempestuous storms in the Downs, the ship is so bruised and leaky that in fourteen days she returned to London, was forced to be put into the dock, £100 laid out to mend her, and lay six or seven weeks to December 22, before she sailed a second time; but being half way over, met with extreme tempestuous weather about the middle of February

Schemes of Mr. John Pierce.

CHAP. XII. which held fourteen days, beat off the round house with all her upper works, obliged them to cut her mast and return to Portsmouth, having 109 souls aboard, with Mr. Pierce himself. Upon which great and repeated loss and disappointment, he is prevailed upon for £500 to resign his patent to the Company, which cost him but £50 ; and the goods, with charge of passengers in this ship, cost the Company £640, for which they were forced to hire another ship, the *Anne*, of 140 tons, to transport them, namely, sixty passengers with sixty tons of goods, hoping to sail by the end of April."

Every step secured by the founders of New England was slowly and hardly won. Their growth was like that of the hardy oak, which gains strength cradled by the storms of winter, and roots itself the more firmly by contending with its rudest gales.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE LAST OF THE FOREFATHERS.

Our bleak hills shall bud and blow,
Vines our rocks shall overgrow,
Plenty in our valleys flow.

We but ask our rocky strand,
Freedom's true and brother band,
Freedom's strong and honest hand,—

Valleys by the slave untrod,
And the Pilgrims' mountain sod,
Blessed by our Father's God.

WHITTIER.

CHAP. XIII. JUST as the colonists were beginning to look with pleasing anticipations on the ripening of the golden grain, which they had sowed under such severe privations, and tended amid many fears, the outlookers on Burial Hill were cheered with the sight of a sail on the distant horizon. In

the latter end of July the ship *Anne* arrived, followed soon after by the *Little James*, a small vessel of forty-four tons, built expressly for trading with the colony. In addition to the acceptable supplies which they brought, about sixty passengers landed at Plymouth, most of whom were welcome to the Pilgrims as dear and long-expected friends. Some of them were the wives and children of those who had been the foremost to face the dangers and difficulties of the infant settlement. They found not one sick person in the settlement, notwithstanding all the want and privations they had endured. Imagination must be left to picture the joyful meeting of husband and wife, parents and children, after so long a separation, and the tedious hopes and fears attendant on the circumstances in which both parties had been placed. In the quaint Christian names mingling among the common Georges, Thomases and Edwards, familiar to English ears, which appear in the list of these new emigrants, we detect one of the peculiar characteristics which, at a later period, became so general among the Puritans both of England and America. There are Fear and Patience, daughters of Elder Brewster, Manasseh Faunce, Christian Penn, and Experience Mitchell. Jonathan and Love were in like manner the sons of the venerable Elder, whom Governor Bradford speaks of as the father of many children. Another of his children bore the name of Wrestling; and the history of the colony in later times affords evidence that the example was not lost on their descendants. Among those undistinguished by their names there unhappily proved to be some but little welcome as members of that virtuous community, and whose peculiarities had anything but a Puritan tendency. So vicious and troublesome, indeed, did they prove, that the colonists were compelled to ship them home the following year, being glad to secure their absence at any cost.

Puritan
names.

The arrival of the *Anne* and *Little James*, with their new band of emigrants casting in their lot with the founders of Plymouth, marks a period of peculiar interest in the annals of the Pilgrim Fathers. By all the historians of New England these later pilgrims are reckoned with those who came in the *Mayflower* and *Fortune*, as the *Old Comers* or *Forefathers*. It was the completion of the band of Pil-

The last of
the Pilgrim
Fathers.

CHAP. XIII. grims, the aristocracy of the New World, from whom, as from a fount of honour, its titles and its privileges were to be derived to all after ages ; and a nobler ancestry could not be desired, amid all the pomp and blazonry of old heraldic trees. In the welcome which the colonists gave to their friends, kindness and love had to make up for the absence of much else at the homely board. " When they see our poor and low condition," writes one of them, " they are much dismayed and full of sadness ; only our old friends rejoice to see us, and that it is no worse, and now hope we shall enjoy better days together. The best dish we could present them with, is a lobster, or piece of fish, without bread, or anything else but a cup of fair spring water ; and the long continuance of this diet, with our labours abroad, has somewhat abated the freshness of our complexion ; but God gives us health," &c.

The severest hardships of the colonists were now over, and they could venture to welcome the reunion of long-dissevered family circles, and to sympathise with the salutation of their faithful counsellor, Mr Robert Cushman, who had returned to England, and wrote from thence, " Your old friends come dropping to you, and by degrees I hope ere long you shall enjoy them all."

Mr. John
Robinson.

Some, however, there were, whom the Pilgrims had longed and hoped for, but whom they were never destined to see join them, in their far distant home ; and foremost among these, was their beloved pastor Robinson. He had been their guide through all their earlier wanderings. He had held sweet converse with them, and ministered kindly consolation to many there, in years long gone by, that seemed to them now as a shadowy but pleasant dream of childhood, when they wandered together among the green lanes, or watched the heron or wild duck in the quiet fens of Lincolnshire, in Old England. He had stood by them in perilous hours, and borne persecution for them and with them, when the dear ties of their native land were rudely severed. He was the last to leave the post of danger when the exiled families were escaping to a foreign land, and, with self-sacrificing devotion, he was content to go or to stay, according as the wants of his severed flock should seem most to need his presence in the old city of Leyden,

or in the land of hope and promise beyond the billows of the Atlantic. Few men of nobler spirit have ever lived ; perhaps none that could compare with this humble and little-noticed pastor of the exiled flock, were left behind him, in those early years of the seventeenth century, when he bade farewell to his native shores. He was a man of refined intellect, and great natural powers of mind. He had studied and taken high degrees at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and had held a living in the Church of England. But the poor pedant king had taken into his head that the minds and creeds of all Englishmen should be moulded into an exact resemblance to his own ; and, unhappily for England, there were not wanting abundant tools,—knaves and bigots, with some honest but dim-sighted men to boot,—who were willing to strive for the accomplishment of this impossibility. Robinson accordingly found that his benefice in the neighbourhood of Yarmouth could not long be held in peace with a clear conscience. He was frequently molested with bishops's officers, and his friends prosecuted, fined, imprisoned, and nearly ruined, in the ecclesiastical courts. They escaped to Holland at last, after many difficulties, having resolved not to purchase peace or worldly honours by sinful compliance with the restraints imposed on conscientious belief. There we have already followed them to Amsterdam, and from thence to Leyden, and to Delft Haven, where the good pastor knelt upon the shore, and with tearful eyes implored the blessings of Heaven upon his severed flock, as he watched the Speedwell receding from his gaze, till lost in the distant meeting of the sea and sky. Neither he nor his flock ever gave up the hope of reunion in their new home. But it was not so to be. They were to see the face of their loved pastor no more.

John Robinson was only thirty-two years of age when the exiled church was re-formed at Amsterdam. Nevertheless he had left behind him a reputation for learning, as well as for simple piety and devoted zeal ; and even some of his enemies acknowledged him to be “the most learned, polished, and modest spirit, that ever separated from the Church of England.” He appears to have possessed the rare virtues of courage and prudence in a singular degree. He was remarkable as a lover of peace ; and when threat-

CHAP. XIII.
Nobility of
character.

CHAP. XIII.

Controversy
with the
Arminians.

Governor
Bradford's
character of
Robinson.

ened to be involved in the dissensions which originated in another body of English Nonconformist exiles at Antwerp, he at once removed with his flock to Leyden, to escape so dreaded a danger, although both he and they were well aware that their worldly cares and difficulties would be greatly increased by removing to an inland town. Nevertheless, when he conceived the great interests of religion were at stake, in consequence of the teaching of the Arminians, he boldly stepped forward as the champion of what he believed to be the truth. The period was a critical one in the state of the controversy at Leyden. Episcopius, one of the divinity professors, maintained the doctrines of the Arminians; while Polyander, his colleague in the university, was the champion of the Calvinists. It is sufficient evidence of his great abilities, that though a young man and a foreigner so recently come amongst them, his appearance in the controversy was hailed with delight by Polyander, and won him great honour, without any appearance of enmity or ill-will being shown by his opponents. His learning and piety attracted many English Nonconformists to Leyden; and he published several works, particularly his "Justification of Separation from the Church of England," which were long held in high estimation. His character is thus briefly, but lovingly, drawn by Governor Bradford, in his Dialogue between some young men born in New England, and sundry ancient men that came out of Holland and Old England:—
 "Mr. John Robinson was pastor of that famous church of Leyden, in Holland; a man not easily to be paralleled for all things, whose singular virtues we shall not take upon us here to describe. Neither need we, for they so well are known both by friends and enemies. As he was a man learned and of solid judgment, and of a quick and sharp wit, so was he also of a tender conscience, and very sincere in all his ways, a hater of hypocrisy and dissimulation, and would be very plain with his best friends. He was very courteous, affable, and sociable in his conversation, and towards his own people especially. He was an acute and expert disputant, very quick and ready, and had much bickering with the Arminians, who stood more in fear of him than any of the university. He was never satisfied in himself until he had searched any cause or argument he

had to deal in thoroughly and to the bottom ; and we have CHAP. XIII
 heard him sometimes say to his familiars, that many times,
 both in writing and disputation, he knew he had sufficiently
 answered others, but many times not himself ; and was
 ever desirous of any light, and the more able, learned, and
 holy the persons were, the more he desired to confer and
 reason with them. He was very profitable in his ministry,
 and comfortable to his people. He was much beloved of
 them, and as loving was he unto them, and entirely sought
 their good for soul and body. In a word, he was much
 esteemed and revered of all that knew him, and his abi-
 lities were acknowledged both of friends and strangers.”*

The testimony of Bradford has already been referred to His liberality
and judg-
ment.
 as to the sagacity and wisdom with which their pastor
 guided them, no less in temporal than in spiritual things.
 “His love,” says he, “was great towards them, and his
 care was always bent for their best good, both for soul and
 body. For, besides his singular abilities in divine things,
 wherein he excelled, he was able also to give direction in
 civil affairs, and to foresee dangers and inconveniences ; by
 which means he was very helpful to their outward estates ;
 and so was every way as a common father unto them. And
 none did more offend him than those that were close and
 cleaving to themselves, and retired from the common good ;
 as also such as would be stiff and rigid in matters of out-
 ward order, and inveigh against the evils of others, and yet
 be remiss in themselves, and not so careful to express a vir-
 tuous conversation. They, in like manner, have ever a reve-
 rent regard unto him, and had him in precious estimation,
 as his worth and wisdom did deserve ; and although they
 esteemed him highly whilst he lived and laboured amongst
 them, yet much more after his death, when they came to
 feel the want of his help, and saw by woeful experience
 what a treasure they had lost, to the grief of their hearts
 and wounding of their souls ; yea, such a loss as they saw
 could not be repaired ; for it was hard for them to find such
 another leader and feeder in all respects.”

The life of Robinson was one of many trials ; and it must Disappoint-
ments and
death.
 have been no slight addition to these, to see one after an-
 other of his flock escaping to the settlement they had estab-

* Chronicles of the Pilgrims. p. 451.

CHAP. XIII. lished in New England, while he strove in vain to accomplish his long-cherished wish of being united to his people. Poverty during the first years, and the opposition of some of the merchant adventurers afterwards, prevented this;* and when the colonists had just triumphed over their greatest difficulties, and would gladly have removed all these obstacles, death put his final fiat on the step. On the 1st of March 1625, little more than five years from the date of that sad, yet hopeful parting at Delft Haven, Robinson's pilgrimage was over, and he had entered into his rest.

Funeral
honours.

Unwonted funeral honours were paid to the good man's memory, as they laid him in his grave in the land of the stranger. His death was looked on as a public loss. The university and the ministers of the city, with many of the citizens, followed his remains to the place of interment, under the pavement in the aisle of St. Peter's, the oldest church in the city of Leyden. No stone marks the spot where he is laid, for his friends were mostly gone to their far-distant settlement of Plymouth, in New England, and the few that remained—exiles like himself,—were too poor to spare the costs of such a memorial. "If either prayers, tears, or means," said one of them, in writing to Governor Bradford, "would have saved his life, he had not gone hence. But he having faithfully finished his work which the Lord had appointed him here to perform, he now rests with the Lord in eternal happiness." In another letter preserved by the first governor of New England, the writer exclaims,—
"Alas! you would fain have had him with you, and he would as fain have come to you."

Peace to the just man's memory,—let it grow
Greener with years, and blossom through the flight
Of ages; let the mimic canvass show
His calm benevolent features; let the light
Stream on his deeds of love that shunned the sight
Of all but Heaven, and in the book of fame
The glorious record of his virtues write,
And hold it up to men, and bid them claim
A palm like his, and catch from him the hallowed flame.

Reverence
for his
memory.

How small a place he occupied in the world's eye, whom now the people of a vast continent look back to with filial reverence, though it was not permitted him to set a foot

* *Vide* Letter of Robinson to Elder Brewster, Young's Chronicles of the Pilgrims, pp. 475-477

upon the promised land. Like Moses, he led his people to the verge of the wilderness, and from afar beheld their goodly inheritance. What mattered it though the few who yet lingered behind could not grave for him the memorial stone. They needed it not ; for the spot was hallowed in their remembrance, as the resting-place of their loved minister ; and they looked, probably, rather to hold its record in their memory, than to behold it much longer with their eyes, when the strongest tie that might have bound them to their foreign shelter, was thus severed, and they hastened to join their brethren in their home in the wilderness. Nevertheless the grave of the good man has not been forgot. Pilgrims from that far land, where now the memory of the little band of exiles is revered as that of the fathers of a great nation, have sought the old church of St. Peter's at Leyden, and have thought its ancient aisle more sacred because it holds the dust of the Pilgrims's pastor.

While the church of the Pilgrims at Plymouth waited and longed for their pastor, whose face they were no more to see in the flesh, his place was supplied by Mr. William Brewster, a man endowed with no mean gifts, and not unworthy to occupy the honourable pre-eminence of the first New England pastor. His place in the exiled church at Leyden appears to have been that of ruling elder ; an office which would seem to have been only temporarily continued in the church of the Pilgrims, though it still forms an essential feature in the ecclesiastical polity of most of the Presbyterian churches of Scotland and America. What the exact effect of such a pastoral oversight, vested solely in the hands of a ruling elder, was calculated to have been, in robbing the church of the Pilgrims of some essential feature of ecclesiastical completeness and symmetry, it does not concern us greatly to inquire. Dr. Cheever, indeed, has thought it advisable to discuss its merits, in his "Plymouth Pilgrims," and to compare the ideas entertained by the founders of New England, with the rules of the "Cambridge Platform of 1649, and the Confessions of the New England Churches of 1680." Happily the Pilgrim Fathers were occupied with weightier affairs, and left to the next generation to revive the party

Mr. William
Brewster.

CHAP. XIII spirit of controversial religion, which engrafted on the New England annals, records of bigotry and intolerance not greatly behind those of the mother country.

Early history
of Brewster.

The history of Elder Brewster, as he is usually styled in the Pilgrims's journals, presents us with some remarkable incidents. Like Robinson, he was a student of Cambridge University, though he did not pursue his studies long enough to attain to the acquirements or honours of the former. On leaving the University, he repaired to the Court, and was engaged for some years in the service of William Davidson, the celebrated and unfortunate secretary of Queen Elizabeth, and the victim of her duplicity, when she polluted her womanly fame with the blood of a sister Queen, and then strove to shift its responsibility on her agents. In 1584, the English Queen leagued with the United Provinces, to enable them to maintain their independence of her Spanish rival. The fortresses of Flushing, the Brille, and Rammekins, were consigned to them as pledges for the repayment of the money, which, with characteristic prudence, she had advanced them on loan. Brewster accompanied the Secretary of State when he went as ambassador to the Low Countries, to take possession of these cautionary towns, as they were termed; and when in token of their being thus ceded to the Queen, the keys of Flushing were delivered to her Majesty's ambassador, Brewster received them in charge, and slept with them under his pillow.

Davidson,
Queen Eliza-
beth's secre-
tary.

When Elizabeth had resolved on the death of Mary, the hapless Queen of Scots, Davidson was privately ordered to draw out the death-warrant; which she signed, and sent to the Chancellor to have the Great Seal appended to it.* When her victim was beyond the reach of mercy or justice, Elizabeth shrunk from the execration with which the murder of her defenceless prisoner was universally regarded, and accused her secretary of undue precipitancy. With an affected sorrow and indignation which deceived no one, she railed at the unfortunate agent of her will, committed him to the Tower, and arraigned him before the Star Chamber. He was amerced in a fine of £10,000, by which he was

* *Vide Davidson's Apology, Chalmer's Life of Mary, Queen of Scots, 8vo, vol. iii., pp. 618, 620.*

utterly ruined. "Thus," says Whitaker, the able vindicator of the Scottish Queen, "fell Davidson, a memorable evidence of the cunning, the perfidiousness, and the barbarity of Elizabeth and her Cecil!" The fall of Davidson put an end to William Brewster's connection with the Court, though he failed not to do what good services he could for his old master, who is spoken of not only as a man of great abilities, but as no less esteemed for his piety and worth, and unskilful only in those pliant arts which best subserve the ambition of the courtier.

Brewster retired to the country, most probably to his native place in Lincolnshire, where he won the esteem of many friends, and where, it is presumed, he first became known to Mr. John Robinson. "He did much good," says Governor Bradford, "in the country where he lived, in promoting and furthering religion; and not only by his practice and example, and provoking and encouraging of others, but by procuring of good preachers to all places thereabouts, and drawing on of others to assist and help to forward in such a work; he himself most commonly deepest in the charge, and sometimes above his ability. And in this state he continued many years, doing the best good he could, and walking according to the light he saw, until the Lord revealed further unto him. And in the end, by the tyranny of the bishops against godly preachers and people, in silencing the one and persecuting the other, he and many more of those times began to look further into particulars, and to see into the unlawfulness of their callings, and the burden of many anti-christian corruptions, which both he and they endeavoured to cast off, as they also did, as in the beginning of this treatise is to be seen.

Brewster's
return to Lin-
colnshire.

"After they were joined together into communion, he was a special stay and help to them. They ordinarily met at his house on the Lord's day, which was a manor of the bishop's, and with great love he entertained them when they came, making provision for them to his great charge; and continued so to do whilst they could stay in England. And when they were to remove out of the country, he was one of the first in all adventures, and forwardest in any. He was the chief of those that were taken at Boston, in Lincolnshire, and suffered the greatest loss; and one of

Church formed
in his
house.

CHAP. XIII. the seven that were kept longest in prison, and after bound over to the assizes.

His employ-
ment in Hol-
land.

"When he came into Holland, he suffered much hardship after he had spent the most of his means, having a great charge and many children; and in regard of his former breeding and course of life, not so fit for many employments as others were, especially such as were toilsome and laborious. Yet he ever bore his condition with much cheerfulness and contentation. Towards the latter part of those twelve years spent in Holland, his outward condition was mended, and he lived well and plentifully; for he fell into a way, by reason he had the Latin tongue, to teach many students who had a desire to learn the English tongue, to teach them English, and by his method they quickly attained it with great facility; for he drew rules to learn it by, after the Latin manner; and many gentlemen, both Danes and Germans, resorted to him, as they had time from other studies, some of them being great men's sons. He also had means to set up printing, by the help of some friends, and so had employment enough; and by reason of many books which would not be allowed to be printed in England, they might have had more than they could do."*

Productions
of his print-
ing press.

From the press established by William Brewster at Leyden, came forth works esteemed no less by the good men of that age, than distasteful to the advocates of absolute uniformity among the people of England. When Cartwright, the Father of English Puritans, retired to the mastership of the hospital at Warwick, under the patronage of the Earl of Leicester, on his release from prison in 1585, he undertook to refute the Rhemish translation of the New Testament, a work on which the most learned Roman Catholic writers had been employed, in order to counteract the influence of the Protestant versions of the Scriptures. Queen Elizabeth was herself alive to the necessity of exposing the fallacies of this most subtle weapon of Romanism, and had already applied to the celebrated Beza, when Sir Francis Walsingham referred her to the great Puritan divine, as no less able to cope with the chosen champions of Popery. Archbishop Whitgift, however, was of a different opinion, and preferred leaving the Rhemists unanswered, rather than in-

* Chronicles of the Pilgrims, p. 465.

trust the defence of the doctrines of the Church of Eng- CHAP. XIII
land to one disaffected to its discipline. "Disheartened hereat," says Fuller, "Cartwright desisted, but some years after, encouraged by an honourable lord, resumed his work ; but prevented by death, perfected no further than the fifteenth chapter of Revelation. Many years lay this worthy work neglected, and the copy mouse-eaten in part, when the printer excused some defects herein in his edition, which, though late, at last came forth, Anno 1618."*

The printer who thus apologized for the unavoidable blanks in this Defence of the Protestant Scriptures, which the Archbishop of Canterbury consigned to the moths and the mice, was none other than William Brewster. In a letter written from the Hague in 1619, by Sir Dudley Carelston, addressed to Secretary Naunton, Brewster is referred to, not only as the printer of Cartwright's "Confutation of the Rhemists's Translation," but as either himself the printer, or privy to the writing and printing, of all the Nonconformist works which issued from the press in Holland, for distribution in England and Scotland. He appears to have rendered himself peculiarly obnoxious to the Court by the publication of a book entitled, "De Regimine Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ." Such was the indignation of James's Government at this and similar controversial works, that Brewster had to flee from Leyden, and to take refuge in England from the emissaries of its own Government. It seems probable, from all that appears, that he was in hiding there while the negotiations were being carried on with the merchant adventurers for the transportation of the exiled church to Virginia, and this no doubt contributed to confirm the intending emigrants in their desire to secure an asylum beyond the Atlantic.

Confutation
of the Rhe-
mista.

No printing-press was needed in the early years of the settlement at Plymouth Bay. Each of the Pilgrims, doubtless, bore with him his well-thumbed Bible, in itself a sufficient library for the pious colonists. William Brewster thenceforth shared in the labours of the planters, and in the oversight of the colony, though in the latter he bore a less prominent share than might have been anticipated. He was fully sixty years of age when he landed with his breth-

The New
England pas-
tor.

* Fuller's Church History, book ix. sect. 6.

CHAP. XIII. ren to face the rigours of their first winter in New England, in all probability the oldest of the Pilgrim Fathers. The venerable elder thenceforth moved amid his little flock, enforcing, by precept and example, the principles which he maintained with undeviating integrity amid so many vicissitudes and trials, and exhibiting amid the first rude log-huts of Old Leyden Street, the same polished courtesy of the Christian and the gentleman, with which he had graced in earlier years the Court of Queen Elizabeth, and the Council Hall of the Hague.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE FIRST GOVERNORS OF NEW ENGLAND.

'Tis not in battles that from youth we train
 The Governor who must be wise and good,
 And temper with the sternness of the brain
 Thoughts motherly, and weak as womanhood.
 Wisdom doth live with children round her knees,
 Books, leisure, perfect freedom, and the talk
 Man holds with week-day man in the hourly walk
 Of the mind's business: these are the degrees
 By which true Sway doth mount; this is the stalk
 True Power doth grow on; and her rights are these.

WORDSWORTH.

CHAP. XIV. IN glancing back on the annals of the Pilgrim Fathers, the brave men who presided over the civil affairs of the colony during the period of its early growth occupy no less prominent a share of our interest than those who formed their spiritual guides. The first journal of the Pilgrims ends March 23, 1621, with the election of a Governor for the infant settlement, when the choice fell upon Mr. John Carver, the faithful friend of the exiles of New England. It is curious that, notwithstanding the pre-eminence, both in personal worth, and in wealth and station, which led

to the unanimous choice of Carver as the first Governor of the colony, scarcely any thing is known of his previous history. He appears to have been a man possessed of considerable wealth, which he generously shared with his Christian brethren, bearing a considerable proportion, both of the whole necessary cost, and of the chief labour and anxieties consequent on the removal from Leyden to New England. Of his integrity and disinterested zeal, the colony had received abundant proof. As he had borne so large a share in the cost of the plantation, and had taken so prominent a part in all the arrangements needful for carrying it into effect, the new settlers could not fail to have unbounded confidence in his honest zeal for the successful carrying out of their scheme of colonization, and therefore it is probable that the choice fell upon him as first Governor of New Plymouth, almost as a matter of course. In the MS. records of Plymouth church, the following brief but most honourable tribute to his memory occurs:—"I may not omit to take notice of the sad loss the church and this infant commonwealth sustained, by the death of Mr. John Carver, who was one of the deacons of the church in Leyden, but now had been and was their first Governor. This worthy gentleman was one of singular piety, and rare for humility, which appeared, as otherwise, so by his great condescendency, whenas this miserable people were in great sickness. He shunned not to do very mean services for them, yea, the meanest of them. He bare a share likewise of their labour in his own person, according as their great necessity required. Who being one also of a considerable estate, spent the main part of it in this enterprise, and from first to last approved himself not only as their agent in the first transacting of things, but also all along to the period of his life, to be a pious, faithful, and very beneficial instrument. He deceased in the month of April in the year 1621, and is now reaping the fruit of his labour with the Lord."

CHAP. XIV.
Governor
Carver.

The re-election of Mr. Carver, as Governor of the colony, had taken place little more than a fortnight before; and now the sorrowing Pilgrims were called upon to lay their chief in his unnoted resting-place close by the bleak sea-shore, where the Pilgrims secretly buried their dead

The grave of
Governor
Carver.

CHAP. XIV. near by the rock which their descendants revere as the noblest monument of these Pilgrim Fathers. It was literally but a step from the landing to the grave where the first Governor of New England rested from all his cares and pains. There is a simple dignity in the brief history of this Governorship worthy of the Cincinnatus of America's first free settlement. His wealth and talents were the property of his people, and expended to the utmost on their behalf. In return, he bore the full weight of all their sorrows and anxieties; nor did he shrink from the humblest or the meanest duties in which they shared, but took a foremost part, alike in the burdens of government, the cares of the hospital, and the labours of the field. He fell like a gallant soldier, fighting in the van. His death is thus briefly noted in the journal of his successor. "While we are busy about our seed, our Governor, Mr. Carver, comes out of the field very sick, complains greatly of his head. Within a few hours his senses fail, so as he speaks no more, and in a few days after dies, to our great lamentation and heaviness. His care and pains were so great for the common good, as therewith, it is thought, he oppressed himself and shortened his days; of whose loss we cannot sufficiently complain."

Burial of
Governor
Carver.

They laid him at rest in the same spot already consecrated by the dust of so many friends. Lest the Indians should learn of their weakness, and take courage from that to assail the little band of suffering exiles, they had been compelled to bury their dead in secret, and to level the graves and sow them, for the purpose of concealment. But they departed from their wonted caution in laying their first Governor in his grave, bestowing on him such honours as it was in their power to confer. "He was buried," says Morton, "in the best manner they could, with as much solemnity as they were in a capacity to perform, with the discharge of some volleys of shot of all that bare arms."

Descendants
of Carver.

The following brief summary in the Chronicles of the Pilgrims is all that we know of his descendants. Amid the life-struggles of the young colony, other thoughts possessed them than the founding of families, or the careful records of heraldic trees. "Nothing is known of Carver previous to

his appointment in 1617 as one of the agents of the church at Leyden. Nor is any thing known of his immediate descendants. It will be seen by the Compact, that there were eight persons in his family. He lost a son, Dec. 6, and his daughter Elizabeth married John Howland. The name of Carver does not appear in the assignment of the lands in 1623, nor in the division of the cattle in 1627; nor does it occur at any subsequent time in the annals of the colony. 'His children attained no civil honours; they rose to no distinction; but, less fortunate than the children of the other Governors, they remained in obscurity, and were unnoticed by the people.' William, the grandson (or nephew) of the Governor, died at Marshfield, Oct. 2, 1760, at the age of 102. Not long before his death, this grandson, with his son, his grandson, and great grandson, were all at work together without doors, and the great great grandson was in the house at the same time. Many of the name are still living in various parts of the old colony. The town of Carver, in Plymouth County, will help to perpetuate it."

The successor to Governor Carver was Mr. William Bradford, and along with him, Mr. Isaac Allerton was elected as his assistant. Carver claims the foremost place among the early Governors of New England, not simply because he was the first on whom the choice of the colonists devolved the onerous duties of a ruler, but because, with persevering self-denial, and generous self-sacrificing zeal, he tended on the birth of the colony, and nursed it in its earliest hours. That done, his duties were at an end, his work was accomplished, he entered into his rest; and the cares of government devolved on a successor whose name is still had in honourable remembrance among his people, as him who reared the humble settlement of Plymouth Bay amid its earliest hardships and perils, and guided its course with consummate skill during a period of thirty years. Dr. Cheever remarks of him, that his character was not unlike that of Washington; nay, says he, "there is a very striking resemblance!" The same author discovers in him, very shortly after, a resemblance scarcely less striking to Franklin. "He was a man whose natural stamp of character was very much like Franklin's; but in him a calm and noble nature was early renewed and en-

Election of
Governor
Bradford.

CHAP. XIV. riched by grace, and brought under its supreme domination ; not left to attach itself to earth only, or to exhibit the qualities of a sage, in the wisdom of mere mortal humanity."

Characteristics of leaders.

Great men are not thus the mere repetitions of one ideal. It would be strange indeed, if, amid the infinite varieties of nature, the giants of America, during the generations of her new existence, were but successive reproductions of the one type which the infant state of New England supplied. But it was not so. Bradford resembles Washington and Franklin, only in the same degree in which he possessed virtues and genius which are common to all the great and the good men both of the Old and the New World. Placed in similar circumstances, all truly good men are found to exhibit striking resemblances, from the very contrast which they present to the no less familiar assimilations which pervade the common herd. But their resemblance is far greater, in the possession of a distinct individuality, which distinguishes all of them from the multitude, and each of them from all others.

Bradford's early years.

Governor Bradford was a man of unobtrusive virtue and sterling worth, well fitted to guide the colony through the perils that beset its early years. He was born at Austerfield in Yorkshire, in 1558, the heir to a considerable landed inheritance. The death of his parents, while he was yet a child, left him to the guardianship of relatives, who considered that they amply provided for the heir to a rich paternal inheritance by instructing him in "the innocent trade of husbandry." It was no act of special neglect which thus abandoned him to no better education than sufficed for the children of a Yorkshire farmer in the sixteenth century, and was deemed no insufficient stock of knowledge for a Yorkshire squire in times much nearer our own day. William Bradford, however, was not so easily satisfied. He looked back with gratitude in after years to early and long protracted sickness, as a means by which God in kind providence had withheld him from the temptations and the excesses, to which the orphan heir of a wealthy inheritance is peculiarly exposed. To the same years of early sickness were probably due much which influenced his whole future career. We can still picture to ourselves the pale, intelli-

gent, thoughtful English boy, shut out by indisposition from the ordinary boisterous sports of youth, and destitute of the literary pastimes which now beguile the dullest youths into occasional perusal of a book, not as a task but as a recreation. Deprived of other means of occupation, the orphan boy took refuge in his own thoughts. His Bible, moreover, supplied food for meditation and serious reflection; nor is it improbable, though no note of it is recorded, that his hours of sickness and solitude were sometimes broken in upon by some pious neighbour, who, amid the stringent formalities of re-established Protestantism, was venturing to judge for himself in the momentous concerns of his religious faith. Certain it is, that William Bradford, while a mere boy, manifested an earnest impression of the power of religious truth, and incurred no slight ridicule and ill-will by casting in his lot with the despised Nonconformists, who thus early attracted the attention and opposition of Queen Elizabeth's Government in the north of England by opinions, in relation to ecclesiastical polity and personal faith, derived from the presumed example of the primitive church. He was subjected to the displeasure of his relatives, and the scorn of his neighbours, as a religious enthusiast and fanatic; but both were alike ineffectual in tempting him from his course.

The preacher whose ministry fell on the heart of the orphan boy, like the refreshing showers of spring on the green blades of the early grain, was Mr. Richard Clifton, of whom we learn little more than that he was an old man of exemplary piety and self-denying zeal, whose labours in the cause of truth had produced no slight influence on the obscure corner of Yorkshire in which the little village of Austerfield lay. He was a man whose gray hairs told that he had witnessed many changes of that eventful era: had escaped perchance from the bloody agents of Mary's blind zeal, and hailed with joy and thanksgivings the accession of Elizabeth. He is described in the Governor's History of the Colony, as "a grave and reverend preacher, who by his pains and diligence had been a means of converting many." The band of English Nonconformists who united themselves by a solemn covenant in the fellowship of the gospel, and afterwards sought in exile the liberty of conscience denied

Mr. Richard
Clifton.

CHAP. XIV. them at home, are described as "of several towns and villages, some in Nottinghamshire, some in Lincolnshire, and some in Yorkshire, where they bordered nearest together." Mr. Richard Clifton appears to have been the evangelist of Yorkshire, under whom the brethren that went forth from thence into exile were gathered together, ere they cast in their lot with those who ultimately formed the Pilgrim Fathers of New England. But the good old man's course was well nigh run. In his old age he was driven forth by persecution from the land of his birth and the scene of his ministerial labours, only to find a grave among strangers. He shared with Robinson the pastoral charge of the exiled church until its removal from Amsterdam to Leyden. He was then far advanced in years, and, in the near anticipation of the great final change, he shrank from another removal. It was well that it should be so. The aged Pilgrim was soon after called to his final home. But pious hands laid him in his last resting-place, and tears of true affection were shed as they committed his mortal remains to the dust, to await the resurrection morn. His history is thus briefly summed up in Governor Bradford's Dialogue :—" Mr. Richard Clifton was a grave and fatherly old man when he came first into Holland, having a great white beard ; and pity it was that such a reverend old man should be forced to leave his country, and at those years to go into exile. But it was his lot ; and he bore it patiently. Much good had he done in the country where he lived, and converted many to God by his faithful and painful ministry, both in preaching and catechizing. Sound and orthodox he always was, and so continued to his end. He belonged to the church at Leyden ; but being settled at Amsterdam, and thus aged, he was loath to remove any more ; and so when they removed, he was dismissed to them there, and there remained until he died."

Bradford's
declaration of
Nonconfor-
mity.

When the Nonconformists of the north of England resolved to brave all for conscience' sake, and rather give up their country with its most endearing ties, than sacrifice their faith, which they valued more than life itself, William Bradford appears to have cast in his lot among them, with all the generous impetuosity of youthful enthusiasm. He was scarcely nineteen years of age, when the attempted escape

to Holland, in 1607, was frustrated by the *catchpole officers* CHAP. XIV.
of Government. Nevertheless he was one of those seized by them at Boston, stript of their money and goods, and cast into prison. Even after he had effected his escape, and had reached Zealand,—which he appears to have done before the most of his companions in the first attempted flight renewed their efforts,—he was threatened with a repetition of former sufferings. He had not been long on shore when he was apprehended and dragged before the magistrates, at the instigation of an envious and malignant fellow-passenger, who accused him as a criminal fleeing from England. When the magistrates of Zealand had learned the nature of young Bradford's crimes, and the cause of his seeking the protection of their Government, he was dismissed with assurances of safety and welcome, and joyfully repaired to the appointed place of rendezvous of his friends at Amsterdam.

William Bradford appears to have devoted himself at an early period to supply the deficiencies consequent on his neglected education. Of the course pursued by him we have no note, though doubtless the natural desire of an intelligent mind for extended knowledge, would be fostered and increased in him by the domestic habits which illness forced on him during his early years. By his own exertions he amply supplied the defects of a neglected education. He thoroughly mastered the Dutch language, and was conversant with French, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. In the narrative he gives of the arrest of the Nonconformists, in 1607, by the officers of the English Government at Boston, he states that they were "rifled and stripped of their money, books, and much other goods." Young Bradford was doubtless one of those whose library was spoiled by the lawless agents of the Government; as we know that he afterwards possessed a considerable collection, which he took with him to New England. Among the records of the founders of the old colony, which have been preserved, is a catalogue of its historian's library, which includes 275 volumes, 64 of which are in the learned languages.

In Holland, however, the young exile had to turn his attention to other objects than the acquirement of learning, and the amassing of books. He applied himself to study the art of dyeing and washing silks; and so soon as he was

Early thirst
for know-
ledge.

Diligence in
business.

CHAP. XIV. of age, he converted his estate in England into ready money, and endeavoured to establish a successful trade at Leyden. But he was a stranger in the country, and inexperienced in the manufacture by which he sought to support himself in the land of his adoption. He met with many disappointments and losses, which he piously esteemed as the chastenings of God, lest the cares of this world should spring up and choke the good seed in his heart. God, in truth, had far other work for him, and was training him for the duties of the high trust that was to be committed to him. From his earliest years he had been learning to think and judge for himself. He had been acquiring that essential virtue of a ruler, even from childhood, of yielding obedience to principle in opposition to public opinion. "He had mingled much with men of various classes, habits, opinions, and pursuits, and had learned to bear with the prejudices of his neighbours, and to avoid the spirit of obstinacy and intolerance, especially in indifferent things, while yet he held firmly, without the least abatement, to the truth. His experience in Amsterdam and Leyden, as well as the admirable instructions and example of his pastor, had taught him much heavenly wisdom, and he could discern and note the evil tendencies and extremes, not only of intolerant superstition and formalism in the church party, but of unnecessary and uncharitable rigidity in his own."

Fitness for
governing.

William Bradford was in his thirty-second year when he landed with the band of the Mayflower's Pilgrims in Plymouth Bay. He had been with them in every step of their progress, from the time when, as a thoughtful boy, he cast in his lot among the despised Nonconformists of Yorkshire, and shared in their prison and their flight, to that period when the expedition, in which his energies and his worldly means had been alike freely embarked, was safely anchored in its destined haven beyond the Atlantic. The sickly boy had grown to be a man of robust frame, of vigorous judgment, great firmness, and self-reliance, and a gentle patience and sweetness of temper, such as is rarely found combined with the sterner virtues of a mind fitted for command. Above all, Bradford had no ambition to rule, or to assume any prominent part in the new state. We owe to his own pen the most ample historic annals of the founding of New England,

yet, save by inference, we would hardly discover that the writer had borne any part in the great work. It is perhaps well that its history should be so considered even now; that it should be viewed solely as a community animated by one feeling, and inspired by the same faith and humble trust in the God and Father of all. It was, indeed, a noble band of Christian men and Christian women, that breasted the billows of the stormy Atlantic in the little Mayflower, "freighted with the destinies of a continent." True, it may be, as one of their descendants exclaims, that "on their heroic enterprise the selectest influences of religion seemed descending visibly; while beyond their perilous path were hung the rainbow and the western star of empire." But it was no spirit of worldly ambition that animated these Christian soldiers. Their unobtrusive virtues sought room for action, not an arena for display. Each stepped into his own place and fulfilled the duties of his station, without thought of honour or reward; and were it not that the great nation which now fills the land where they struggled for a foot of earth, has learned to look back on these Pilgrims with the pride of ancestry, we might forget the worth of that freight which the little Mayflower bore, as she battled with the storms of the mighty ocean, and struggled onward to their haven of rest. Of this, however, there is little danger. In the annual and occasional festivities with which the anniversary of the Pilgrim Fathers's landing is celebrated throughout America, oratory exhausts itself in the attempt to clothe their virtues in language of fitting honour, and worthily to picture an event wherein Americans behold the advent of their national greatness and renown.

"Let us go up," exclaims Edward Everett, in an address delivered at one of these popular celebrations of the landing of the Pilgrims, which took place throughout New England in 1839,—“Let us go up in imagination to yonder hill, and look out upon the November scene. That single dark speck, just discernible through the perspective glass, on the waste of waters, is the fated vessel. The storm moans through her tattered canvass, as she creeps, almost sinking, to her anchorage in Province-town harbour; and there she lies with all her treasures, not of silver and gold, (for of these she has none,) but of courage, of patience, of

CHAP. XIV.
Orations of
Forefathers's
Day.

CHAP. XIV. zeal, of high spiritual daring. So often as I dwell in imagination on this scene; when I consider the condition of the Mayflower, utterly incapable as she was of living through another gale; when I survey the terrible front presented by our coast to the navigator, who, unacquainted with its channels and roadsteads, should approach it in the stormy season, I dare not call it a mere piece of good fortune that the general north and south wall of the shore of New England should be broken by this extraordinary projection of the Cape, running out into the ocean a hundred miles, as if on purpose to receive and encircle the precious vessel. As I now see her, freighted with the destinies of a continent, barely escaped from the perils of the deep, approaching the shore precisely where the broad sweep of this most remarkable headland presents almost the only point at which for hundreds of miles she could with any ease have made a harbour, and this perhaps the very best on the seaboard, I feel my spirit raised above the sphere of mere natural agencies. I see the mountains of New England rising from their rocky thrones. They rush forward into the ocean, settling down as they advance; and there they range themselves a mighty bulwark around the heaven-directed vessel. Yes, the everlasting God himself stretches out the arm of his mercy and his power in substantial manifestation, and gathers the meek company of his worshippers as in the hollow of his hand."

The people
and their
rulers.

It is just that the virtues of the colonists of New England should be remembered, while acknowledging the worth of their Governor. Had Governor Carver lived, his successor would have pursued the even tenor of his way, contented with the humble duties and virtues of private life; and had the latter died, there were not wanting others to fill his place. It is not detracting from the merits, or diminishing the worth, of Governor Bradford, thus to picture him as the willing ruler of a band of noble and virtuous colonists, who, like one family, rejoiced and suffered together, and acted in sympathy with the wise guidance of their head, even as the blood circulates through every vein and artery of the healthy frame, and throbs responsive to the heart's pulsations. The colonists of Plymouth, it must be borne in remembrance, had exercised the rights of legislation and self-

government without the sanction of a royal patent. The social compact, which becomes little more than a figure of speech, when adopted as a term descriptive of the complicated relations of the most republican government, was literally realized among the New England settlers. Each individual member of the settlement voluntarily subjected himself to the will of the majority, and to the guidance of him whom they had chosen to govern. In every community the virtues of each individual member constitute an element in the prosperity of the state; but in the first little republic of New England one vicious member was sufficient to have destroyed the equilibrium on which the stability of the whole depended. Had some proud rebel, refusing either to subject himself to the will of the majority, or to leave the society, to the arrangements of which he was unwilling to submit, chosen to appeal directly to the king, in all human probability the settlement would have been dissolved, and scattered as effectually as the abortive colony of Weston. The latter, indeed, abundantly suffices to illustrate the instability of such a union when attempted with vicious and discordant elements. What would all the virtues and all the wisdom of Governor Bradford have sufficed had his lot been to govern the colonists of Wessagusset, instead of those of New Plymouth. Nevertheless the wisdom and sagacity of the Governor did stamp, as with his own character, the whole early history of the colony. While he lived his influence never failed to be directed for its best interests, and no eulogium can too strongly commend the wisdom and sagacity with which he administered its affairs.

It must not be forgot, in estimating the virtues of him who held, during so many of its early and eventful years, the chief post in the first colony of New England, how unenviable were the duties of his station. Did provisions fail, he must be appealed to. Did Indians prove treacherous, or companions false, or friends desert their cause, or enemies increase around them, he must be ready for each emergency. Nay, did even seed-time and harvest seem to belie the gracious promise of mercy made to Noah and his posterity;—did the earth refuse to yield her increase; or did death cut down old man and maiden and child, until the

Unenviable
duties of the
Governor.

CHAP. XIV. soil beneath their feet was thickly sown with the mouldering dust of friends ;—all these created new calls for his wisdom and sagacity, or his long-suffering and heroic endurance. The very patient and virtuous forbearance of the colonists added to his cares: for when with sad yet uncomplaining wistfulness, each one turned to him in their adversity, and with tearful eyes silently appealed to him for aid, he must have felt as the father of one great family, whose every want and suffering becomes even more keenly his own. It is no mean award to him that he proved equal to the task. “ From the time when Governor Bradford enters upon his administration of the affairs of the colony, year after year its history is his. He was in an eminent degree the moving and guiding genius of the enterprise. His conduct towards the Indians was marked with such wisdom, energy, and kindness, that he soon gained a powerful influence over them. With the people of the colony, not merely his first fellow-pilgrims, but all that came successively afterwards, he had equal authority and power, without the necessity of assuming it. The most headless among them seem to have feared and respected him. He set them all at work, and would have none idle in the community, being resolved that ‘ if any would not work, neither should they eat.’ Cotton Mather gives an account of a company of young fellows newly arrived, who were very unwilling to comply with his orders, or rather with the arrangements of the colony, for working in the fields on the public account. But on Christmas-day they excused themselves from the labours of the public industry, under pretence that it was against their conscience to do any work on that day. The Governor told them if that were the case, he would spare them till they were better informed ; but soon afterwards he found them all at play in the street, hard at work upon their diversions, as if in obedience to the Book of Sports. That being the case, he very quietly took away the instruments of their games, and gave them to understand that he had a conscience as well as they, and that it was against his conscience as the Governor that they should play while the others were at work ; so that, if they had any devotion to the day, they should show it at home, in the exercise of religion, and not in the street, with their pastime and frolics.

The reproof was as effectual as it was happy, and the Gov- CHAP. XIV
ernor was plagued with no more such tender consciences.

“His administration of affairs as connected with the merchant adventurers, was a model of firmness, patience, forbearance, energy, and enterprise. Along with a few others, he took the whole trade of the colony into his hands, with the assumed responsibility of paying off all their debts, and the benevolent determination to bring over the rest of their brethren from Leyden. His activity in the prosecution of this great undertaking was indefatigable. Meanwhile, no other business, either of the piety or civil polity of the colony, was neglected. He made such arrangements, in conjunction with his brethren, to redeem their labour from the hopelessness of its conditions in the adventuring copartnership under which they were bound for the seven years’ contract with the merchants, as inspired them all speedily with new life and courage. Under the pressure of the famine his example was as a star of hope, for he never yielded to despondency; and while with Brewster he threw them upon God for support and provision, he set in motion every possible instrumentality for procuring supplies.”*

But it is needless to follow out the eulogy, or enter further on the evidence of its truth. Most justly may it be said, that Governor Bradford’s history is the history of the colony. He was annually re-elected so long as he lived,—excepting only five years, during which, at his own earnest request, he was relieved from the cares of his great trust. Winslow filled his place during three years, and Prince during the remaining two. To his moderation and public spirit, much of the character permanently stamped on the institutions of New England may still be traced. Had he been ambitious, much was in his power. Had he been the narrow-minded sectary that prejudice has pictured the Non-conformists of England in the seventeenth century, the elements of spiritual pride and the despotism of bigotry were within his reach. But he was none of these; nor was that free colony of exiles for conscience’ sake, the fit arena either for unsatisfied ambition or intolerant sectarianism. “The frame of civil government in the colony,” says Bancroft, “was of the utmost simplicity. A governor was chosen by

His influence
on the co-
lony.

* Plymouth Pilgrims, p. 227

CHAP. XIV. general suffrage, whose power, always subordinate to the general will, was, at the desire of Bradford, specially restricted by a council of five, and afterwards of seven assistants. In the council, the governor had but a double vote. For more than eighteen years, the whole body of the male inhabitants constituted the legislature; the state was governed, like our towns, as a strict democracy; and the people were frequently convened to decide on executive not less than on judicial questions. At length, the increase of population, and its diffusion over a wider territory, led to the introduction of the representative system, and each town sent its committee to the general court. We subsequently find the colony a distinct member of the earliest American Confederacy; but it is chiefly as guides and pioneers that the fathers of the old colony merit gratitude.

Debt of gratitude to the Pilgrims.

"Through scenes of gloom and misery, the Pilgrims showed the way to an asylum for those who would go to the wilderness for the purity of religion or the liberty of conscience. Accustomed 'in their native land to no more than a plain country life and the innocent trade of husbandry,' they set the example of colonizing New England, and formed the mould for the civil and religious character of its institutions. Enduring every hardship themselves, they were the servants of posterity, the benefactors of succeeding generations. In the history of the world, many pages are devoted to commemorate the men who have besieged cities, subdued provinces, or overthrown empires. In the eye of reason and of truth, a colony is a better offering than a victory; the citizens of the United States should rather cherish the memory of those who founded a state on the basis of democratic liberty; the fathers of the country; the men who, as they first trod the soil of the New World, scattered the seminal principles of republican freedom and national independence. They enjoyed, in anticipation, the thought of their extending influence, and the fame which their grateful successors would award to their virtues. 'Out of small beginnings,' said Bradford, 'great things have been produced; and as one small candle may light a thousand, so the light here kindled hath shone to many, yea, in some sort to our whole nation.'—'Let it not be grievous to you,'—such was the consolation offered from England to the Pil-

grims in the season of their greatest sufferings,—‘let it not be grievous to you, that you have been instruments to break the ice for others. The honour shall be yours to the world’s end.’ ” CHAP. XIV.

Governor Bradford lived to the age of sixty-nine. He rejoiced in beholding the reward of his labours. The refuge of freedom, which he had anticipated as he embarked with the first Pilgrims in the *Mayflower*, had been realized. It may be that he looked forward with still higher hopes, and anticipated the future history not of the colony only, but of the vast continent which he had helped to rescue from the wandering savage, that it might become the home of a race sprung from the old Saxon Fathers of England. He died on the 9th of May 1657, “lamented,” says Mather, “by all the colonies of New England, as a common blessing and father to them all.” He was laid to rest, amid the Fathers of New England, on the brow of Burial Hill, from whence he had so often looked out in earlier years over the broad ocean that lay before him, watching in hope of tidings and of help from the land of his birth. Two centuries had elapsed since the landing of the Fathers at Plymouth, when, on the 22d of December 1820, the founding of New England and its liberties was celebrated with unwonted honours and rejoicing by the inheritors of their great bequest. The name of William Bradford, the Governor of New England, was then breathed with pride and veneration, and his memory revived as chief among the Fathers of the state. Subscriptions were entered into to provide some fit memorial of his worth, and in 1825, a marble monument was erected on the Burial Hill at Plymouth, to mark the spot where he and his son William lie interred. Posthumous honours.

CHAPTER XV.

PURITAN ACQUISITION OF NEW ENGLAND.

So I have known a country on the earth,
 Where darkness sat upon the living waters,
 And brutal ignorance, and toil and dearth,
 Were the hard portion of its sons and daughters;
 And yet where they who should have oped the door
 Of charity and light, for all men's finding,
 Squabbled for words upon the altar-floor,
 And rent the Book, in struggles for the binding.

CHARLES DICKENS.

CHAP. XV. **Fidelity of the Pilgrims.** IN previous chapters we have followed out the early history of the planting of New England with considerable minuteness. The first years of occupation of their chosen place of settlement, were years of anxiety, apprehension, and suffering. It was a constant warfare against foes without and within. Famine stared them in the face; armed savages menaced them in the field; death stalked amid their ranks, and threatened their utter annihilation; and from within, their worst foes appeared among those on whom their only hope had seemed to depend. It was a struggle for life, wherein the most undaunted courage seemed hardly equal to the strife. But the Pilgrim Fathers were as the forlorn hope of liberty to the persecuted Nonconformists of England; and even when most fearful, they yielded to no thought of retreat. There was the appointed place of conflict, and the only choice they seem ever to have placed before themselves was victory or death. It was with something of the calmness of the soldier on the battle-field that the survivors of the Mayflower Pilgrims committed their friends to the grave, on the bleak shores of Plymouth Bay, in that first dreadful winter of their landing. They had fallen the foremost in the strife, and their companions stepped onward into the breach.

We must glance back at the history of England during the first years of the Pilgrim colony, in order fully to appreciate the deep sympathy and interest with which many there were watching the tidings they should send back from their wild refuge beyond the Atlantic. Even among the selfish band of merchant adventurers, there were some who sympathized more sincerely in the welfare of the colonists than in the success of their adventure. "Assuredly," writes one of them in 1627, "unless the Lord be merciful to us and the whole land in general, our condition is far worse than yours. Wherefore if the Lord should send persecution here, which is much to be feared, and should put into our mind to fly for refuge, I know no place safer than to come to you."

In the earlier pages of this volume, the reader may trace out the progress of events in England which had brought good men to feel that their condition was worse even than those who, amid the uncultivated wastes of the New World, endured such privations and braved such dangers as few men would willingly encounter. The contrast between the last of the Tudors and the first of the Stuarts was great indeed, but not more marked than the difference of feeling with which the English nation regarded the one and the other. These two causes combined to accelerate a change in the relations between the Crown and the people pregnant with the most momentous consequences. Queen Elizabeth was no less haughty an assertor of absolute power than her father had been, and watched with proud jealousy the slightest encroachments on her prerogatives. Her inclinations, moreover, were far more papistical than puritan. When we view her character and tastes as they are developed in all the most prominent manifestations of her unbiassed will, it cannot be considered any great lack of charity to affirm that policy more than principle determined her adherence to Protestantism. In referring to the revival of the Papal party in England during Queen Elizabeth's reign, a recent advocate of the entire system of polity which she established thus remarks:—"To render such a party needless, by satisfying reasonable expectations, was one reason for adopting Edward's reformation. But it was not the only reason. Romish prejudice, it is true, seems to have per-

Inducements
to the Puri-
tan emigra-
tion.

CHAP. XV

vaded two-thirds of the nation. This majority, however, was far less considerable for intellect than for numbers, hence it was justly, necessarily, called upon for extensive concessions. Of the more intellectual minority, a large portion had no other wish than to see restored the system that Queen Mary overthrew. It had not only stood the test of many learned inquiries, but also a crowd of martyrs had sealed it with their blood. Even at this time it is impossible to think of these self-devoted victims without feeling them to have stamped a holy and venerable character upon the Edwardian church. But Elizabeth came to the throne among their acquaintances and relatives. Thousands of anecdotes now lost, must have then embalmed their memories in every part of England. To depart from a system that had come off so gloriously, naturally appeared something like sacrilege to many judicious minds. It was a system also dear both to the Queen and the primate, and each of them had large claims upon Protestants from important services. If Elizabeth had embraced Romish principles, many of her difficulties, both at home and abroad, would have immediately vanished. Her actual determination was the greatest advantage ever yet gained by the Protestant cause. But although willing thus to disoblige a majority of her own subjects, and to incur serious risks from foreign states, she was partial to many of the religious usages in which she had been bred. The pomp and ceremony of Romish worship were agreeable to her taste. Hence the royal chapel, though it stood alone, long and repeatedly exhibited, to the scandal of many zealous Protestants, but greatly to the satisfaction of all with Romish prejudices, an altar, decorated with crucifix and lights. Archbishop Parker was, probably, far less fond of such imposing externals than his royal mistress, though he hesitated at first as to the expediency of retaining crosses. Having, indeed, concealed himself at home during the Marian persecution, he had never seen Protestantism under any other form than that which it wore in Edward's reign. He had accordingly no thought of reconstructing a church upon some alleged reference to Scripture merely—a principle hitherto unacknowledged by his countrymen. He was imbued with a deep veneration for antiquity, and had no

Queen Elizabeth's partiality to forms and ceremonies.

further wish than to free the religious system, immemorially established, from blemishes detected by recent inquirers of undeniable competence.”*

The true hindrance, however, to Queen Elizabeth's hearty adoption of the Romish faith has already been referred to. It must be sought in her equivocal position as the daughter of Anne Boleyn. Successive Popes had stigmatized the union of Henry with the favourite maid of honour as an alliance which the church could not sanction; and the fickle tyrant had legalized the decree which pronounced the offspring of that union illegitimate. Hence it was that the reformation which Cranmer had conducted through its early struggles into life, became from policy far more than from principle the object of her regard. The interests of the protector and the protected were mutual; and her adherence to the cause of Protestantism was more firmly strengthened when the Catholic party, under the guidance of the ambitious Guises of France, set forth the young Queen of Scots as the legitimate heir to her throne. Strange and inconsistent as it may appear, it is undoubted that Protestantism was still further acceptable to the haughty Tudor, because it presented itself to her as the guarantee of an unlimited despotism. The elder sister, Mary, had hastened, with superstitious piety, to lay at the feet of the Sovereign Pontiff not only the supremacy of which Protestantism had deprived him, but those more substantial evidences of England's spiritual obedience, the temporalities which were wont of old to flow through the various channels of patronage and tithing into the Papal treasury. All these Elizabeth immediately resumed. She was the inheritor not only of her father's despotic throne, but of his despotic spirit. Henry VIII. overthrew Papal supremacy, not as a liberator, to free his people from its burdens and restraints, but as a conqueror, to assume them to himself; and in no point did Queen Elizabeth so cordially depart from the example of her elder sister, as in the re-assumption of those Papal prerogatives of queenly supremacy which still trammel the Church of England with an ill-defined and inconsistent subjection to the state. That she might more effectually establish her claim to the title of England's Protestant

Necessity of
Q. Elizabeth's
Protestant-
ism.

* Soames's Elizabethan Religious History, p. 888.

CHAP. X Pope, Queen Elizabeth made religious uniformity the deliberate aim of her government. Whatever changes on the old faith were consistent with her own sympathies, or essential to the line of policy she adopted, were received as the truth, and presented to all for acceptance ; but beyond this no change, however slight, was to be tolerated. Every year her ideal of religious uniformity became more unrealizable. Restraint only fostered inquiry. Men who were compelled to adopt a ceremony at which their conscience stumbled, began to inquire into the legitimacy of the authority by which the soul was thus subjected to bondage. Every year the Queen became more obstinate, and her aim more hopeless. Persecution became more frequent, and its spirit more intolerant. Bonds, imprisonment, and death, waited on those who differed from the creed, or stumbled at the ceremonies, which royalty had countersigned as the limits of reformation. Yet with all this Queen Elizabeth was loved, honoured, revered ; and still her memory is held in reverence, and her reign looked back to as a glorious era in our national annals. The cause of this is not difficult to determine. Under her the scattered exiles, whom the Marian persecution drove forth, returned to their native land ; and thousands whose relatives and dear friends had perished in dungeons or at the stake, beheld in her the liberator who had opened the prison doors and quenched the martyr fires. It was her good fortune, moreover, to succeed to a weak-minded princess, guided by bigoted advisers, in whose hands the national honour had been sacrificed, and its revenues alienated, squandered, or lost. She had learned prudence in the school of adversity, and was fortunate in the possession of wise advisers, who had influence to restrain her in many of her excesses. Above all, it was her fortune to reign while the Guises and Catherine de Medici were deluging France with the blood of Protestants, and when Philip of Spain, after vainly seeking to quench liberty and faith in the Low Countries, turned his thoughts to the conquest of England and its subjection to Papal sway. At such a time the Queen of England was venerated as the champion of Protestantism, and the true defender of the faith. No wonder that Protestants, who themselves generally adhered to some ideal scheme of uniformity, though

diverse from that of the Queen, should sink all minor differences when she appeared as the leader in a struggle which involved the very existence of Protestantism. CHAP. XV.

The case was altogether different with James. The English nation viewed his accession to the throne with no slight degree of jealousy and distrust, and the Nonconformists alone looked hopefully on the change which placed a Presbyterian ruler in the coveted post of supremacy which had heretofore been employed for the extinction of the opinions he was believed conscientiously to maintain. The result is well known. James, with none of the virtues, had all the faults of Queen Elizabeth. He exhibited despotism and intolerance in their most odious aspects. Still more, his Court was speedily the scene of vice and crimes, exceeding in depravity, if not in open profligacy, the licentious Court of the Restoration. Religious men, of every shade of opinion, were alienated from Government; and the supremacy, which had assumed a grave and dignified severity of aspect under Elizabeth, was beheld in its true character when ostentatiously wielded by the profligate pedant who succeeded her. England sunk to a state of degradation under Mary which rendered her contemptible in the eyes of Europe. She returned to that state under James, and became the unblushing hireling, and subservient tool, of her old continental rivals. No wonder that England should still forgive much to her who intercalated the Elizabethan era between such reigns.

Jealousy and distrust of James I.

With the accession of Charles I. hope revived in England, but only to be again disappointed. James had bequeathed to the inheritor of his throne ideas of kingly prerogatives, which no lessons of wisdom or experience sufficed to change, or even to modify. He succeeded his father on the 27th of March 1625; and in 1627, we find Sherley writing to the colonists of New England, anticipating the time when their settlement must be the refuge of the persecuted exiles of England. The state of things which followed on the development of Charles I.'s policy and intractable prejudices, exercised a most important influence on the colonization of America. "This prince," says Lord Bolingbroke, "had sucked in with his milk those absurd principles of government which his father was so industrious, and unhappily

Hopeful accession of Charles I.

CHAP. XV. for king and people, so successful in propagating. He found them espoused as true principles, both of religion and policy, by a whole party in the nation, whom he esteemed friends to the constitution in church and state. He found them opposed by a party whom he looked on indiscriminately as enemies to the church and to monarchy. Can we wonder that he grew jealous in a cause which he understood to concern him so nearly, and in which he saw so many men who had not the same interest, and might therefore be supposed to act on a principle of conscience equally zealous? Let any one who hath been deeply and long engaged in the contests of party, ask himself, on cool reflection, whether prejudices concerning men and things have not grown up and strengthened with him, and obtained an unaccountable influence over his conduct? We dare appeal to the inward sentiments of every such person. With this habitual bias upon him, King Charles came to the throne; and, to complete the misfortune, he had given all his confidence to a madman.”*

Virtues and
vices of
Charles.

Charles I. escaped the influence of the debasing profligacy which polluted his father's court. He exhibited in a remarkable degree the virtues that adorn domestic life, and subjected himself, more than became a man of intellect and virtue, to the influence of a wife little worthy of such deference. But if Charles escaped the pollution of the degrading vices of the Court, the faithlessness which formed so prominent a weapon in all his father's policy was adopted by him, as one of the most legitimate prerogatives of sovereignty. His opinions were resolutely opposed to any relaxation of the most despotic assumptions of the Crown, and his faithless contempt of promises destroyed every remaining hope of the people. With Laud as his favoured adviser, it seemed vain for those who struggled for liberty of conscience to expect it in England. Even before the death of James, the English Nonconformists were anxiously watching the success of the planters of New Plymouth, and so early as 1624. the Pilgrims found the deserted scene of Weston's colonial establishment re-occupied by a more congenial band of settlers. “The early history of Massachusetts,” says Bancroft, “is the history of a class of men as remarkable for their

* *Vide Harris's Life of Charles I., p. 278.*

qualities and their influence on public happiness, as any by which the human race has ever been diversified. CHAP. XV.

“The settlement near Weymouth was revived; a new plantation was begun near Mount Wollaston, within the present limits of Quincy; and the merchants of the West continued their voyages to the islands of New England. But these things were of feeble influence compared with the consequences of the attempt at a permanent establishment near Cape Ann; for White, a minister of Dorchester, a Puritan, but not a separatist, breathed into the enterprise a higher principle than that of the desire of gain. Roger Conant, having already left New Plymouth for Nantasket, through a brother in England, who was a friend of White, obtained the agency of the adventure. A year’s experience proved to the company, that their speculation must change its form, or it would produce no results; the merchants paid with honest liberality all the persons whom they had employed, and abandoned the unprofitable scheme. But Conant, a man of extraordinary vigour, ‘inspired as it were by some superior instinct,’ and confiding in the active friendship of White, succeeded in breathing a portion of his sublime courage into his three companions; and, making choice of Salem, as opening a convenient place of refuge for the exiles for religion, they resolved to remain as the sentinels of Puritanism on the Bay of Massachusetts.

The sentinels
of Puritan
emigration.

“The design of a plantation was now ripening in the mind of White and his associates in the south-west of England. About the same time, some friends in Lincolnshire fell into discourse about New England; imagination swelled with the thought of planting the pure gospel among the quiet shades of America; it seemed better to depend on the benevolence of uncultivated nature and the care of Providence, than to endure the constraints of the English laws and the severities of the English hierarchy; and who could doubt, that, at the voice of undefiled religion, the wilderness would change to a paradise for a people who lived under a bond with the omnipresent God? After some deliberation, persons in London and the West Country were made acquainted with the design.

“The council for New England, itself incapable of the generous purpose of planting colonies, was ever ready to

CHAP. XV.

Acquisition
of the land.

make sale of patents, which had now become their only source of revenue. Little concerned even at making grants of territory which had already been purchased, they sold to Sir Henry Roswell, Sir John Young, Thomas Southcoat, John Humphrey, John Endicot, and Simon Whetcomb, gentlemen of Dorchester, a belt of land, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, extending three miles south of the River Charles and the Massachusetts Bay, and three miles north of every part of the River Merrimac. The zeal of White sought and soon found other and powerful associates in and about London, kindred spirits, men of religious fervour, uniting the emotions of enthusiasm with unbending perseverance in action,—Winthrop, Dudley, Johnson, Eaton, Saltonstall, Bellingham, an eminent lawyer, famous in colonial annals, besides many others, men of fortune, and friends to colonial enterprise, who desired to establish a plantation of 'the best' of their countrymen on the shores of New England, in a safe seclusion, which the corruptions of human superstition might never invade. Three of the original purchasers parted with all their rights; Humphrey, Endicot, and Whetcomb, retained an equal interest with the new partners.

The Massa-
chusetts
Company

"The company, already possessing the firmness of religious zeal and the resources of mercantile opulence, and having now acquired a title to an extensive territory, immediately prepared for the emigration of a colony; and Endicot—a man of dauntless courage, and that cheerfulness which accompanies courage; benevolent, though austere; firm, though choleric; of a rugged nature, which the sternest form of Puritanism had not served to mellow—was selected as 'a fit instrument to begin this wilderness work.' His wife and family were the companions of his voyage, the hostages of his fixed attachment to the New World. His immediate attendants, and those whom the company sent over the same year, in all, not far from one hundred in number, were welcomed by Conant and his faithful associates to gloomy forests and unsubdued fields. Yet, even then, the spirit of enterprise predominated over the melancholy which is impressed upon nature in its savage state; and seven or more threaded a path through the woods to the neck of land which is now Charlestown. English cour-

age had preceded them; they found there one English CHAP. XV.
hovel already tenanted.

“When the news reached London of the safe arrival of the emigrants, the number of the adventurers had already been much enlarged. The ‘Boston men’ next lent their strength to the company; and the Puritans throughout England began to take an interest in the efforts which invited the imagination to indulge in delightful visions. Interest was also made to obtain a royal charter, with the aid of Bellingham and of White, an eminent lawyer, who advocated the design. The Earl of Warwick had always been the friend of the company; Gorges had seemed to favour its advancement; and Lord Dorchester, then one of the Secretaries of State, is said to have exerted a powerful influence in its behalf. At last, after much labour and large expenditures, the patent for the Company of the Massachusetts Bay passed the seals; a few days only before Charles I., in a public state-paper, avowed his design of governing without a Parliament.”*

Here we find the elements of a more rapid and extensive colonization than that of the exiled church of Leyden in Plymouth Bay. Charles I. and Laud, with his Star Chamber and High Commission Court, were most effectual agents in carrying out this scheme. By such means many of the noblest and worthiest among the people of England, were selected and sent out, to plant religion and free institutions on the shores of New England. Happily the history of our country proves that many more, noble and worthy, tarried behind to establish the same in their native land.

Causes of
rapid colo-
nization.

The new settlements in Massachusetts Bay date from the very commencement of Charles's reign. Hope long deferred was waxing dim in the hearts of earnest men in England, and some of her well-wishers had already despaired. Roger Conant and a few zealous associates had proceeded to New England in 1625. It might be wondered why, while they were still few in number, the religious emigrants from England did not seek shelter within the hospitable refuge of Plymouth settlement. But already the harsh spirit of religious persecution was forcing into premature growth many forms of diversity in the opinions of Christian men,

Source of
early divi-
sions.

* Bancroft's History of the United States, pp. 137, 138.

CHAP. XV. and the victims of intolerance did not always learn by their sufferings to practice toleration and grant liberty of conscience to others. "The settlers at Massachusetts Bay," says Price in his *History of Nonconformity*, "were distinguished from those at Plymouth, by some shades of theological opinion. The latter were Independents, who had separated from the Church of England, and conducted divine worship in harmony with their own views; but the former, for the most part, belonged to the more moderate class of Nonconformists, who, without seceding from the communion of the Hierarchy, acknowledged its corruptions, and earnestly sought its reform. Before their departure for America, they drew up a letter, addressed 'to the rest of their brethren in and of the Church of England,' wherein they say, 'We desire you would be pleased to take notice of the principals and body of our company, as those who esteem it our honour to call the Church of England, from whence we arise, our dear mother; and cannot part from our native country, where she specially resideth, without much sadness of heart, and many tears in our eyes; ever acknowledging that such hope and part as we have obtained in the common salvation, we have received in her bosom, and sucked it from her breasts. We leave it not, therefore, as loathing that milk, wherewith we were nourished, but, blessing God for the parentage and education, as members of the same body, shall always rejoice in her good, and unfeignedly grieve for any sorrow that shall ever betide her; and, while we have breath, sincerely desire and endeavour the continuance and abundance of her welfare, with the enlargement of her bounds in the kingdom of Christ Jesus.'

Confusion of
civil and
ecclesiasti-
cal rule.

"The settlement of their ecclesiastical polity engaged their earliest attention. The main principles which it embraced, were precisely similar to those now held by the Congregational and Baptist Churches of England; but the following article, which was also adopted, betrayed their imperfect acquaintance with the rights of conscience, and led to acts of persecution which disgraced their early history. It is thus expressed by Hubbard, 'Church government and civil government may very well stand together, it being the duty of the Magistrate to take care of matters of religion, and to improve his civil authority for the observing the du-

ties commanded in the first as well as in the second table; seeing the end of their office is not only the quiet and peaceable life of the subject, in matters of righteousness and honesty, but also in matters of godliness.'""* There is more truth in these latter conclusions of the historian of Protestant Nonconformity than in the first; for certainly the early history of New England will lead few indeed to assign to the colonists of Massachusetts the palm of moderation when compared with the Pilgrim Fathers of Plymouth.

The Puritans of England and America were equally slow to learn the true principles of liberty of conscience. Here and there a man might be found with clearer and larger views, but the great mass of the religious confessors of the seventeenth century could conceive of no degrees or different phases of truth. Holding their own opinions as the result of conscientious convictions, and frequently in defiance of cruel persecutions, they esteemed them as embodying *the truth*, and regarded every difference from them as necessarily amounting to error. To this they too often added the intolerant doctrines which spring from the false idea that error must be rooted out by the strong hand of power. In the self-constituted governments of the early religious settlements of New England, we accordingly find the duties of the magistrate confounded with those of the religious teacher, and the government of the state regulated by a discipline, which, if applicable any where, is legitimate only within the narrower limits of the church. It was not unnatural that the distinctions between civil and ecclesiastical rights and obligations should have been confounded or lost sight of in communities originally composed entirely of voluntary exiles for conscience' sake. The fact, however, is not the less important to the historian, because of its naturally resulting from the constitution of the human mind when placed amid such novel circumstances. It supplies a key whereby to test the actions of the men of that age, and bids the historian moderate the warmth of his eulogium, and the bitterness of his censures, on individuals, while it leaves him still free to estimate by the sole standard of right and wrong the deeds of the persecutors and the persecuted.

* Price's History of Nonconformity, vol. ii. p. 62.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE MASSACHUSETTS PILGRIMS.

Where is the true man's fatherland?
 Is it where he by chance is born?
 Doth not the yearning spirit scorn
 In such scant borders to be spanned?
 O, yes! his fatherland must be,
 As the blue heaven, wide and free!

Where'er a human heart doth wear
 Joy's myrtle-wreath, or sorrow's gyves,
 Where'er a human spirit strives
 After a life more true and fair,
 There is the true man's birth-place grand,
 His is a world-wide fatherland.

I OWELL.

CHAP. XVI. THE history of the settlement of Massachusetts by the Puritan Pilgrims of Charles I. reign, is scarcely less interesting than that of their predecessors in Plymouth Bay. Both were of the same class. Both had been driven forth from their native country by the intolerable burdens of enforced conformity, and both sought, in the colonial possessions of England, to enjoy liberty of conscience without the sense of exile and banishment, which even prosperity cannot efface from the forced resident in a foreign land. It is not to be wondered at that the same degree of harmony and mutual agreement on all the thorny questions of polemic controversy which prevailed in the little settlement of Plymouth, was not always found among the Puritan settlers that occupied the broad lands of Massachusetts. The exiles who escaped from England to Holland were winnowed and sifted again and again, ere the passengers of the Mayflower effected a landing in the New World. At Amsterdam some were left behind, more tarried at Leyden, and even of those who proceeded to England in the Speedwell,

Select class of emigrants.

the faint-hearted and faithless abandoned the enterprise when successive disappointments had allowed their early hope and enthusiasm to give way at the chill touch of experience. It was very different, however, with those who fled from the systematic persecutions of Laud, and the intolerant High Commission Court and Star Chamber of Charles I. There was no time for sifting then, happily for them too, less need of it than before. The Pilgrim Fathers had led the way. The wilderness had been proved to be a safe and sure refuge for the persecuted sufferers for conscience' sake, and now hundreds crowded from their native shores, without waiting for the personal experience of the wrongs they saw inflicted on their brethren, longing to breathe the free air of these distant wilds, where no bigot king, or merciless zealot, strove to constrain the soul within the straitened bonds of established formulas. All wanted liberty for themselves, but unhappily all were not prepared to exercise toleration, or extend the same liberty to others. Even at the first difficulties arose from this source. Yet why should we wonder that such was the case. The principles on which mutual toleration finds its true basis were then unknown. Even in the Commonwealth, which bold spirits soon after established for a time in England, it was only a small minority, with England's great Protector at their head, who battled for equal privileges, and the like liberty to all. True, indeed, both the Pilgrims of Plymouth, and the Puritan settlers of Massachusetts, were even more intolerant of the Service Book and observances of the Church of England than the Puritan rulers of the Commonwealth; but the dictates of sound policy may plead an abundant excuse for this. It was impossible for Prelacy and Puritanism to live amicably together under the counsels of Laud and the Government of Charles I. The refugees of New England had no choice but to banish or to be banished; to root out the green shoots of emigrant Prelacy, or to let it grow until it added to the trials and privations of these planters in the wilderness, the very restraints, to escape which all these lesser evils had been braved.

First differences and difficulties.

The name of the Rev. John White merits a prominent place among those who fostered the first New England colonies, and promoted the work of emigration among the suf-

Rev. John White.

CHAP. XVI. fering Puritans. He was minister of Dorchester, a borough and market-town in the county of Dorset, a district of England which has borne a prominent share both in the glory and the sufferings of the nation's struggles for liberty. It was the scene of some of the fiercest contests between the forces of the Parliament and the King during the great civil war; and when the despotic bigotry of Charles's infatuated son, James, had driven thousands to peril their fate under the questionable leadership of Monmouth, Dorset was one of the chief scenes of Judge Jeffries' bloody assizes. Doubtless the zealous administration of such a teacher as John White helped in no slight degree to sow the seed which bore such vigorous fruit. The attention of White was early attracted, and his interest excited, by the settlement effected at Plymouth in New England, and he devoted himself with unwearied zeal to establish similar Christian communities along the unoccupied shores of the New World. The first settlement at Salem was an offshoot from the Pilgrims' colony at Plymouth Bay. Mr. Roger Conant led forth a little company of hardy adventurers, who established themselves first at Cape Ann, and then at Salem. But they experienced the usual privations and disasters that await those who stand in the fore rank of aggressive civilization. Difficulties and dangers seemed to accumulate on their devoted heads, until, disheartened by the perils that surrounded them, all but three of Conant's companions abandoned what seemed to be a desperate project. In this crisis Mr. White wrote to these last lingerers amid the wreck of many hopes, entreating them not to desert the settlement, and promising speedily to reinforce their numbers, and furnish them with supplies of provisions and other requisites from England.

Purchase of
the land.

The indefatigable minister of Dorchester amply fulfilled his promises to Conant and his faithful adherents. In 1628, only seven years after the sailing of the Mayflower, the Council of Plymouth, as the English company was termed, sold to six gentlemen of Dorchester a vast tract of land, including not only the districts of New England which they succeeded in colonizing, but stretching across the vast continent of America, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. Mr. White was unwearied in his exertions for furthering

this noble scheme of establishing Christian communities, governed by free institutions, amid the uncultivated wilds of America. Chiefly by his exertions, a numerous body of zealous Christian men from his own neighbourhood were induced to unite themselves with the original purchasers of the unoccupied tract of land; and among these were men of large fortune and high rank, and distinguished no less by an earnest zeal for spiritual religion, and for the liberty of conscience denied to them by the haughty rulers of England. Thus constituted, the colonists of Massachusetts were far more fortunately situated than the first Pilgrim Fathers, who had to contend with mercenary greed, envious rivalry, and the overreaching exactions of unfriendly speculators. They immediately began the work of emigration. Mr. John Endicot, one of the six original purchasers, was the leader of the company of colonists who left England to reinforce the forlorn band that still maintained their uncertain footing at the settlement of Salem. That same year an exploring party set out to examine the character of the neighbouring country chartered to them by the Council of Plymouth. To their surprise and delight, they discovered, at a distance of about twelve miles from Salem, a cottage, (the same which the historian of the United States designates an English hovel,) where a countryman of their own had already won the favour of the Indians by his skill in working metals. The locality seemed favourable for settlement, and the ability of their countryman was scarcely less valuable to them than to the wild Indians. A body of the colonists established themselves around the forge of Thomas Walford, the English blacksmith; and with the old patriotic feeling, which no wrongs or sufferings can altogether eradicate, they named their new settlement Charlestown, in honour of the king whose severities had driven them from the land of their fathers.

In the following year, 1629, a band of three hundred and sixty English Puritans arrived at Salem, one hundred of whom chose Charlestown for their final resting-place; and now the interest excited by such extensive emigration was productive of the most momentous results for the liberty of New England. All attempts to procure a royal charter for Plymouth had proved unavailing, but the Puritans of Salem and Charlestown were more successful. After some little

Planting of
Salem and
Charlestown

CHAP. XVI.

difficulty and delay, Charles I. affixed the royal seal to a charter, dated March 4, 1629, by which the holders of the purchase from the Council of Plymouth were erected into a body politic, by the name of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay in New England. The Pilgrim Fathers found their transactions with the merchant adventurers, who constituted their governing company, the source of perpetual wrongs and disappointments, and were glad at length to purchase relief from such an intolerable yoke on the most exorbitant terms. But the result was altogether different with the colonists of Massachusetts Bay. They had anticipated persecution, moreover, instead of waiting until the galling yoke of the oppressor could no longer be borne. They were not, therefore, driven to the necessity of accepting such terms as might be offered. They could husband their resources and wait their time; and therefore it was that they achieved so readily what their predecessors had sought in vain, and secured for their Puritan brethren free institutions in the New World, which tempted them to emigrate, without tarrying till their worst anticipations were realized. The leaders in the establishment of the new colony were actuated solely by the honest desire to secure beyond the Atlantic, a safe and abiding shelter for the suffering Nonconformists of England. When, therefore, the royal charter had given the highest legal security for the permanence of their corporate rights and privileges, many of the leading members of the company gladly avail themselves of a guaranteed liberty over which they held so great control, and soon the governor and company were themselves settled amid the early clearings of Salem and Charlestown. The consequences that flowed from this were altogether momentous. At the very time when the English sovereign was seeking to overthrow the chief privileges which the British constitution secured, and was entering on a contest which involved the absolute supremacy of Crown or Parliament, he had unconsciously established an independent provincial government within his own dominions. The legality of such a state of things was indeed attempted to be questioned, but happily, amid the dangers and difficulties that surrounded the English Government at home, the New England settlers did not excite sufficient notice or interest to

tempt the Crown to investigate too curiously the consequences of this destination of the royal charter. The transference of the body in whom the chartered privileges had been reposed to the scene of their destined settlements, involved in point of law no more than a change in the place of meeting. The Governor and Company henceforth assembled in Massachusetts, instead of at Dorchester in England, and the English courts acknowledged that this did not interfere in any degree with the legality of their proceedings.

The granting of the royal charter had furnished to the chief projectors of the settlement a strong inducement to emigrate, but the transference of the governing power to the colony itself produced a far more extensive movement. The suffering Nonconformists throughout England learned with delight of a Puritan settlement established in the New World, governed by Christian men who sympathized in their opinions, and who guaranteed to them, by the security of the King's own charter, the liberty of conscience and the civil privileges, which he was then employing all the means that policy and unprincipled ambition could suggest, to wrest from them at home. During a single season fourteen vessels sailed from England for Massachusetts Bay, crowded with Nonconformist emigrants fleeing for shelter to this land of promise. About fifteen hundred persons landed in New England, and immediately formed themselves into an independent settlement under the new charter. Mr. John Winthrop, one of the first associates whom Mr. White had induced to unite with the original purchasers of the tract of land on which they were settling, was unanimously chosen Governor; and we owe to his pen the most complete record of the early history of the Puritan settlements of New England.

*Influence of
the royal
charter.*

The settlers of Massachusetts Bay forsook the land of their nativity, under a less pressing necessity than that which had driven forth the Pilgrim Fathers to a foreign shore, ere they gratified the indomitable love of their country by seeking to shelter themselves within the skirts of its government, amid the far wilds which modern adventure had added to its possessions. Nevertheless, the stimulus to emigration originated among the early Nonconformists under Charles I. from similar causes, and they were actuated

*Patriotic
feelings of the
emigrants.*

CHAP. XVI. by a scarcely less passionate attachment to their native land, when, on the eve of their departure from Yarmouth Roads, they published the affectionate farewell to England and her Church, to which we have already referred. They would not willingly break every tie that bound them to England. They still regarded it with filial reverence, and encouraged the fond hope that some bond of mutual sympathy would keep alive the union of love between the parent and child.

Desertion of
Charlestown.

The privations attendant on the founding of a new settlement produced their usual consequences on the new colonists. They dispersed themselves in various directions, the Governor choosing Charlestown as the place of his residence. Thither many followed him. The place lately occupied by a solitary English cottage, was become the populous capital of an extensive colony. But there, as at Plymouth Bay, the colonists had their houses to rear ere they could be occupied; their harvests to sow and tend ere they could be reaped; their streets to lay out, to drain, to pave, ere they could enjoy, in the land of freedom, the thousand necessary comforts and luxuries which they had possessed in England almost without a thought of their necessity, or of the possibility of their absence. Sickness spread among them. There also many reached their destination only to win a grave in the land of promise; and nearly the whole of the survivors deserted Charlestown, and established themselves on the site now occupied by the flourishing town of Boston. On the 19th of October 1630, the Governor summoned there the first Colonial Assembly to deliberate on the affairs of the settlement, and begin their work as the free and unfettered legislators of the New World.

Mortality at
Boston.

The change of locality did not suffice to rescue the colonists from sickness and death. The true sources of their privations still remained; and, doubtless, among the large body of honest, industrious, and wealthy emigrants, who had forsaken England from the love of freedom and the desire for liberty of conscience, not a few were ill fitted by previous habits for enduring the exposures and sufferings attendant on the clearing of the forest, and the rearing of the log huts wherein the exile finds his first shelter from unwonted exposure and the inclemencies of the season, in

the strange country of his adoption. Nearly two hundred died after the removal to Boston, and about an hundred more, including some of the leading men of the colony, fled from the dangers which seemed to threaten destruction to the whole settlement, and precipitately returned to England. The survivors, however, did not despair. It was hardly to be looked for that so numerous a body, necessarily to a great extent strangers to each other, should manifest the same magnanimity and unflinching courage which animated the little Christian family of New Plymouth. Still they did not fail in deeds of generous charity and love. Many noble acts of disinterested kindness proved to the colonists the value of the high Christian principles, by which the great body of them were actuated. Like the Pilgrims of the Mayflower, they saw their provisions failing, and looked in vain for the distant sail that should cheer them with the hope of new supplies from England. But like them rich and poor shared together their scanty stores; and it is related among the old traditions of the colony, that Governor Winthrop was in the act of dividing his last handful of meal with a poor neighbour, when the joyful tidings reached him that the long-expected ship from England was in sight.

It has already been hinted, that the plantation of Massachusetts Bay was speedily found to include among its settlers sufficient diversity of opinion to produce at a very early period the elements of discord. That the Puritan settlers of New England should have ejected from among them those who wished to adhere to the Church of England, and to retain its ritual and forms of worship, was both natural and perhaps necessary. Sound policy required it, even from those who might see its inconsistency with the free toleration of religious belief. But unhappily the great majority of the settlers went beyond this, and imitating the earlier English Nonconformists, became almost as strenuous maintainers of enforced uniformity as their English persecutors had been. They differed only on the standard of uniformity, not on the principle. It is folly for either American or English encomiasts to seek to disguise this. It is an important fact in the history of the human mind, and the impartial records of both countries abun-

CHAP. XVI.
Diversity of
opinions.

CHAP. XVI. dantly prove that only a very few, even in the seventeenth century, had any just conception of the grand principles of toleration, which acknowledge God as the sole judge of every man's faith, and interfere with opinions or creeds only when they develop consequences inimical to social virtue and order. The emigrant settlers who founded the Puritan colony of New England, were composed of the very class among whom diversities of opinion on religious faith and ecclesiastical polity were most likely to arise. They included many of the most devout and earnest thinkers of the age. Religion was with them a thing so momentous that all temporal interests became mean and little worth in comparison with it. But the sufferer for conscience' sake is ever too apt to conclude that the faith which he has maintained in defiance of persecution must be true. He is unwilling to believe that there may be martyrs for error; sincere confessors, worthy of all admiration for their heroic fidelity to what, after all, may prove an unworthy cause. It is a fact, moreover, too well established to need now to be argued, that suffering has rarely taught the persecuted to show moderation to others; and of this the annals of New England furnish abundant evidence. Above all, it is to be remembered that common sufferings and perils had produced unanimity among the Puritan emigrants, who crowded the little fleet that sailed like a triumphant armament to take possession of the chartered land of freedom which they had won in the New World. It need not greatly surprise us, that those who were at one in their opposition to the ritual of the English Church, or to the restraints and formalities imposed on its honest and conscientious adherents by Laud and his disciples, should discover that they were not equally unanimous when they came to give their own creeds and systems practical form. Protestantism, merely as such, is but a negative creed. Thousands unite in the *protest* against error, who have little common ground in their ideas of truth. Surely it is not needful for the validity of their protest that they should! Let it suffice that they do not rest their hopes in such a negation. They triumph without a victory, who discover in the divisions of Protestantism a proof that it originated in error. Human nature is ever the same, and rarely indeed do the most clear-sighted of men comprehend

the ends which Providence is working out by such imperfect means. CHAP. XVI.

There were noble men among these Fathers of Massachusetts. Winthrop, Johnson, and Dudley; Wilson, the chosen minister of the first church formed among them; Cotton, a man who had won distinguished honours at the University of Cambridge, ere he became an object of persecution for no less distinguished piety; Eliot, the generous and self-denying apostle of the Indians; Francis Higginson, the enthusiastic but truly catholic Nonconformist, who esteemed the invitation of the first emigrants as a call from Heaven; and Roger Williams, the noble pastor of Salem, who has won an unenviable distinction as the object, and in some degree the origin, of much unseemly strife among the first New England churches, but who was notwithstanding a man of true piety, great moral worth, and generous consistency as the advocate of perfect toleration. Others were not without characteristics less worthy of admiration. The historian of the United States describes Endicot, the foremost among the leaders who planted the new colony, as "benevolent, though austere; firm, though choleric; of a rugged nature, which the sternest form of Puritanism had not served to mellow." Some of the deeds of the stern Puritan are still remembered among records of the past which New England has little pride in recalling, and one will long live in the nervous stanzas of Whittier's "ballad of Cassandra Southwick," the production of one of the most vigorous and truly national of America's living poets. Yet Massachusetts is justly boastful of her ancestry. Many others might be singled out for notice from among the Puritan Fathers of New England. They were "a chosen generation, a peculiar people." A great work was before them, and the fruit of it has been a rich and abundant reward, though the weakness and the failings of human nature mingled with their work, and they proved, to use the modest anticipations of the Pilgrim Fathers, but as stepping-stones to others for the accomplishment of their high aim.

The Fathers
of Massachu-
setts.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE CONSTITUTION OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Men, my brothers, men the workers, ever reaping something new:
 That which they have done but earnest of the things that they shall do:
 Yet I doubt not through the ages one increasing purpose runs,
 And the thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns.

TENNYSON.

CHAP. XVII. WHEN sickness and death threatened the loyal founders of Charlestown with utter annihilation, the place to which they removed presented the appearance of a promontory stretching into the Bay. Its surface swelled into rising grounds of considerable height, now known to the New Englander as Copp's Hill, Fort Hill, and Beacon Hill. The colonists ascribed their sufferings at Charlestown to the dampness of the locality, and, what might perhaps seem an unlikely concomitant of this, to the want of a sufficient supply of water. The neighbouring promontory seemed to promise a remedy for both evils. Its rising grounds offered security for the dryness of the locality, while its old name of *Shawmut*, or the living fountain, pointed it out as a spot celebrated among the Indians for its abundant springs of pure water. Thither, accordingly, the first occupants of Charlestown removed in a body, on the 7th of September 1630, leaving only seventeen colonists who preferred retaining possession of that earlier settlement. The outlookers were then daily watching the distant horizon, in anticipation of a ship in which their minister, the Rev. John Cotton, had sailed from Boston, in England; and it was in honour of him, and perhaps also of the town with which many of them may have had the dear associations of nativity and kindred, that the colonists conferred on their new settlement the name of Boston.

Shawmut, or
 Boston.

Shawmut, however, had one occupant previous to its

hasty adoption by the deserters from Charlestown, not unworthy of a passing glance among the good men who first sought for freedom amid the wilds of New England. The following brief notice of him occurs in an American work, devoted to the early history of Boston and its founders. "The first settler of Shawmut was Mr. William Blackstone. He probably came over with the company under Endicot, who settled at Salem. Mr. Blackstone built a cottage at a point somewhere near Leverett Street, not very far from Craigie's Bridge, and became sole proprietor of the whole peninsula, which was afterwards bought of him. Here he lived nine or ten years, and saw the foundation of society laid. He was a very eccentric character. He was an ordained minister of the English church, but holding Puritan sentiments, he preferred to enjoy them unmolested in the wilderness. He loved his liberty so well that he would not connect himself with the church established here. He said, 'I came from England because I did not like the Lord-Bishops; and I cannot join with you, because I would not be under the Lord-Brethren.' He retained nothing while here of his ministerial character but his canonical coat. He devoted himself to the cultivation of the six acres of land which he retained in his possession, and planted there, it is said, the first orchard of apple-trees in New England. It is supposed that he left Boston because he was annoyed by the strict sectarian laws that were established by the colony, and banished himself again to the wilderness, in a place now called Cumberland, on the banks of Pawtucket river. Here he built his house in the midst of a park, planted an orchard near it, and divided his time between study and labour. He called his rural retreat Study Hill, and made it his permanent residence until the day of his death, which happened May 26, 1675, two years after he had buried his wife. He was a man of a kind and benevolent heart; and when he went to Providence to preach, which he did occasionally, notwithstanding his disagreement in opinion with Roger Williams, he would carry with him some of his beautiful apples as a present to the children, who never had seen such fruit before. Indeed, the kind called yellow sweetings, were first produced from his orchard; and the older inhabitants, who had seen apples in England, had

CHAP. XVII.
 The first Boston settler

CHAP XVII. not before seen that sort. His eccentricity is seen in the fact, that he used, in his old age, to ride into Providence on a bull, which, for want of a horse, he had trained for that purpose. 'The death of this venerable pilgrim,' says the historian, 'was at a critical period, the beginning of an Indian war. His estate was deserted, and his house burnt by the natives. His library, which contained 186 volumes, from folios to pamphlets, shared the same fate. His family is now extinct. A flat stone marks his grave on Study Hill; but we hope and trust the musing stranger will hereafter find his name on some marble tablet of historical inscriptions, erected by the munificent hand of some Bostonian,' and in the city of Boston, which, for a short time, was called for him Blackstone Neck, on the very spot where he erected the first Christian dwelling-place."*

Mr. and Lady
Arabella
Johnson.

Mr. Johnson, who has been already referred to, occupies a somewhat similar place among the founders of Boston to that which is conceded to Governor Carver among the Pilgrim Fathers of Plymouth. He was a man of considerable wealth, and highly connected in England. He was one of the largest contributors to the original cost of the settlement, and removed to Salem among the first band of emigrants who were tempted by the securities for their liberty and religious privileges which the destination of the royal charter seemed to furnish. He was accompanied by the Lady Arabella, his young and devoted wife, a daughter of the noble house of Lincoln; but, alas, ill-fitted by the delicacy of her early nurture to brave the dangers and hardships of a new colony. The rank, and the generous liberality of Mr. Johnson naturally led the colonists to look up to him as a leader. No feeling was then stronger in the breasts of Englishmen than that reverence for rank, when allied to corresponding virtues, which includes some of the best features of the old patriarchal state, and is peculiarly calculated to exercise a beneficial influence in a new colony. Those, however, who have been brought up amid the refined delicacies and luxuries to which the wealthier ranks of society are accustomed, are ill-fitted to contend with the thousand hardships and privations that must be endured by the first settlers in the wilderness. So it proved with

* Shawmut; or the Settlement of Boston, p. 27.

him whom local historians still name with reverence as the father of Boston. The Lady Arabella lived long enough to share in such homely comforts as the first log-hut of Salem could afford. With generous fortitude she encouraged the desponding settlers, and smiled at the rude substitutes furnished by her new home for the comforts which had been familiar to her from childhood. But she was too delicate an exotic for transplanting to the unprepared soil. She wasted under slow consuming sickness, and was one of the first buried at Salem. Her loss was deeply mourned by the colonists, and visibly preyed on the health of the sorrowing husband. Notwithstanding this, however, and the sad tie which such an event was calculated to create to the place which held the dust of one so dear, Mr. Johnson accompanied the band of emigrants who abandoned Salem, and selected Charlestown, the colonial seat of government, for their place of settlement; and he again joined the survivors who hastily deserted it, when a death-plague seemed to threaten the destruction of all. He lived long enough at Boston to aid in the distribution of its first lands, and to build a house on the lot appropriated as his own share of the soil. The ground allotted to the "Father of Boston" is still pointed out by the citizens of that flourishing sea-port. The court-house now appropriately occupies the site of his dwelling, and his grave was the first which consecrated the burying-ground, where it is still pointed out as one of the memorials of the founders of the state. The esteem in which he was held among the companions of his toil and the sharers in his trials, is shown by the terms in which his loss is mentioned by the early historian of the settlement. "He was endowed with many precious gifts, and a chief pillar to support this new-erected building, so that at his departure there were many weeping eyes, and some fainting hearts, fearing the failure of the undertaking." In life he was the greatest furtherer of the plantation, and by his bequest a benefactor of the infant state. It is not, perhaps, an altogether inappropriate destination, that the chief portions of "Johnson's lot" are still occupied only with the little mounds which mark the resting-place of successive generations who have gathered around the grave of the founder of Boston.

Death of
Lady Ara-
bella and her
husband.

But the true father of Boston was Governor Winthrop. He was a man of more enlightened views, and juster ideas of the basis of true liberty, than were acceptable to the stern Puritan colonists of Massachusetts. He did much to temper the severity of their proceedings, when ecclesiastical discipline was converted into civil law. It is an enviable tribute which Williams, the martyr-advocate of toleration, bears to the memory of the Governor of Massachusetts, while suffering from the intolerance of its laws: "That ever-honoured Governor Winthrop privately wrote to me to steer my course to the Narragansett Bay, encouraging me from the freeness of the place from English claims or patents. I took his prudent motion as a voice from God." But more of him hereafter. Meanwhile the following summary of Governor Winthrop's character is furnished by the historian of the "Settlement of Boston." "A more interesting character than Winthrop is scarcely to be found in American history. Some of my readers have often seen his portrait in the State-house. He was tall and well formed, his visage long, a high forehead, with dark blue eyes, and dark hair, worn in the form of a wig. His countenance beamed benevolence and wisdom. Made a justice of the peace in his native town in England at the early age of eighteen, he grew up in the exercise and art of government. His prudence, patience, courage, and energy, made him the successful pilot of the ship of state in the unchartered waters into which she was launched. He was not a democrat. 'The best part of a community,' said he, 'is always the least; and of this least part the wiser is always the less.' He was liberal in his natural disposition, and it was with reluctance that he yielded to the reigning spirit of intolerance in religion. Having been applied to in his last illness to sign an order for the banishment of a minister, he refused, saying, he had done too much of that already. In private life he was frugal and temperate, hospitable and exceedingly generous to the poor. One hard winter, complaint was made to him that a person frequently stole wood from his pile. 'Does he,' said Mr. Winthrop; 'send him to me, and I will take a course with him that will cure him of stealing.' The man appeared, trembling under the terrors of the law. 'Friend,' said the Governor, 'it is a cold winter, and I

doubt you are but poorly provided with wood. You are welcome to supply yourself at my pile until the winter is over.' CHAP. XVII.

"His religion shone out through all his life, and gave a higher lustre to his character. He was zealous for truth and righteousness. Often would he bear witness to the minister in the congregation; and frequently he visited the neighbouring towns to prophesy, as it was called, that is, discourse religiously. His character was admired, not only throughout New England, but in the mother country, and at the Court. Charles I. remarked of him, that it was a pity that such a worthy gentleman should be no better accommodated than with the hardships of America. Character of Winthrop.

"A wonderful control of his own passions was a proof of the grace of God in him, and associates him in the mind with that other great model of virtue which will for ever adorn our country. On a certain occasion, one of the officers of the colony wrote him a 'sharp letter,' complaining of his official acts. He handed it back to the messenger, after he had read it, remarking, that he 'was not willing to keep such a letter of provocation by him.' Not long afterwards, while the colony was suffering from scarcity of food, the same gentleman sent to buy some of his cattle. The Governor sent them to him, begging that he 'would receive them as a token of his good will.' The gentleman wrote back, 'Sir, your overcoming of yourself, hath overcome me.'

"This admirable temper he carried in all his public life. Cotton Mather says of him, that he had 'studied that book, which, professing to teach politics, had but three leaves, and on each leaf but one word, and that word was MODERATION.' " *

He died at the age of sixty, worn out with public cares and domestic afflictions. New England owed much to his moderation. It would have been well had the state been more completely under his control. The deputy-governor, Mr. Thomas Dudley, studied law in his youth, and had borne a captain's commission in the service of one of the German states, during the continental wars. He attached Deputy-Governor Dudley.

* Shawmut; or the Settlement of Boston, p. 86.

CHAP. XVII. himself to the Nonconformists after his return to England. His views coincided far more completely with the general opinions of the colonists than those of Governor Winthrop. He several times held the office himself, and was almost always elected deputy when Winthrop was chosen Governor. "He was," says the historian of Boston, "a man of sound sense, sterling integrity, and uncompromising faith. He was rigid in his religious opinions, and went far beyond Winthrop in enforcing the sectarian laws of the state. He considered that the various opinions that were struggling to manifest themselves from time to time tended to licentiousness; and he was desirous that it should be inscribed on his grave-stone, that he was no friend to unlimited toleration, which he called *libertinism*."

The following quaint but very characteristic lines, embodying his protest against toleration, were found in his pocket after his death:—

"Dim eye, deaf ear, cold stomach, show
My dissolution is in view;
Eleven times seven near lived have I,
And now God calls, I willing die.
My shuttle's shot, my race is run,
My sun is set, my day is done;
My span is measured, tale is told,
My flower is faded and grown old;
My dream is vanish'd, shadow's fled,
My soul with Christ, my body dead.
Farewell, dear wife, children, and friends,
Hate heresy, make blessed ends,
Bear poverty, live with good men,
So shall we live with joy again.
Let men of God in court and churches watch
O'er such as do a toleration hatch,
Lest that ill egg bring forth a cockatrice,
To poison all with heresy and vice.
If men be left and otherwise combine,
My epitaph's, I died no libertine."

With such a colleague, it needed all Winthrop's liberality to moderate the severities of Puritan discipline. Governor Winthrop proved himself well suited for the ruler of the new settlement; nor did he want efficient coadjutors, whose virtues are still recorded in the annals of the state. The survivors did not despair amid the difficulties that surrounded them. Like the pioneers of Plymouth Bay, their

trust was still unshaken, and they doubted not but the God of heaven had better things in store, though the ways of his providence seemed dark, and the blessings of liberty were being purchased at a costly price. It was not in vain that the brave settlers looked forward to brighter days. They had many friends still in England; nor were they, like the founders of Plymouth, dependent on the niggard returns of merchant adventurers. Ships arrived from time to time, laden with provisions and needful stores, and bringing fresh emigrants to fill the vacancies created by death and desertion. Their dangers and difficulties were far fewer than those experienced by the solitary band of exiles from Leyden. They were speedily able to constitute their civil and ecclesiastical systems, and to establish themselves into a well-ordered state, the beneficial influences of which were shared, in some degree, even by the founders of Plymouth, though their worst dangers and difficulties were already at an end.

The government of the new state was necessarily moulded in consistency with the peculiar views of its founders. It was a religious settlement, and the ecclesiastical and civil rights of its members became, accordingly, as completely interwoven as those of England were when the Queen assumed to be Defender of the Faith, and supreme head of the Church. One of the first procedures was to enter into what was styled "A Church Covenant." On the 30th of July 1631, while the colonists still held their head-quarters at Charlestown, a solemn day of fasting and prayer was observed. The public services were conducted in the open air; after which the following Covenant was signed in the name of the whole community, by Governor Winthrop, Deputy-Governor Dudley, Mr. Johnson, and the Rev. Mr. Wilson:—

Peculiar
government
of the colony.

"In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in obedience to his holy will and divine ordinance, We, whose names are here underwritten, being by his most wise and good providence brought together into this part of America, in the Bay of Massachusetts, and desirous to unite into one congregation or church, under the Lord Jesus Christ, one head, in such sort as becometh all those whom he hath redeemed and sanctified to himself, do hereby solemnly and religiously,

Church cove-
nant.

CHAP. XVII. as in his most holy presence, promise and bind ourselves to walk in all our ways according to the rule of the gospel, and in all sincere conformity to his holy ordinances, and in mutual love and respect to each other, as near as God shall give us grace."

The religious
republic.

It was, in fact, the constitution of the colony as a religious republic, and it stamped an enduring character on the history of New England. The government of the colony of Massachusetts, as finally settled, was vested in a governor, deputy-governor, board of assistants, and deputies from each town. At first they constituted one deliberative assembly, but when the dependencies increased, and the number of representatives became proportionably great, they were formed into two houses, modelled to a considerable extent after the Parliament of England. One most momentous element, however, was infused into the political scheme of the Republic. No man was entitled to a vote at any election, unless he was a member of the church. This test was not immediately felt to be irksome where nearly every member of the community was already possessed of the requisite qualification, and it cannot surprise us that it should have been adopted. The Puritan Fathers of New England were actuated by no visionary schemes of republican liberty. They sought only permission to hold and to carry out their own views, and from the very first they laid it down as an essential element in their scheme of policy, to exclude from the settlement all who differed from them in religious opinions, or who refused to be subject to their ecclesiastical discipline. It is unnecessary to remind the reader, that this singular union of ecclesiastical and civil polity was afterwards productive of many evils to the colony. But it must not be overlooked, that this novel establishment of a state religion and of a civil constitution, wherein the scriptures of the Old and New Testaments were the acknowledged basis of legislation, was not adopted without a vigorous protest from some, who, with clearer foresight discerned the evil consequences that must flow from such a system.

Most men love extremes. It is rare indeed to find the happily constituted mind that can hold fast to the golden mien, which stands fast between the oscillating points of the balance. Yet with self-complacency and faith in our

own moderation, we look back on these strugglers, and smile as we see them with like complacency appeal to

“ His golden scales, hung forth in heaven,
Which quick up-fly and kick the beam!”

Among the passengers that crowded the Puritan fleet which bore onward to the land of promised liberty, there was one, “ a young minister, godly and zealous, having many precious gifts,” who, with the keenest sympathy for the doctrinal faith and ecclesiastical polity advocated by the Nonconformists, could yet conceive of a higher good than the absolute supremacy of these, as the unbending rule of life, in the new state. Roger Williams was little more than thirty years of age when he landed, on the 5th of February 1631, at the old port of Nantasket, as Hull was called by its Indian owners. He was a Puritan, and a fugitive from England, but his sagacious intellect could discern the spirit of intolerance, whether it decked itself in the white surplice and the cassock of Prelacy, or assumed the demure gown of Geneva. He had perceived, amid the strife of opinions, and the struggle of rival sects for supremacy, the force of the Scripture’s golden rule.—the new commandment which Christ gave to his church, and which includes in its comprehensive summary the whole spirit of the Decalogue graven of old on the tablets of Sinai,—“ Do to others as ye would that men should do to you.” He sought, in the land of promise, a far nobler liberty than that of making it an occasion of bondage to others. He was not, indeed, perfect. In his desire to divorce the civil from the spiritual power, so as to destroy the source of those evils which he most dreaded in the new state, he undoubtedly ran to some extremes. He maintained that it was wrong for a magistrate to tender an oath to an unregenerate man, “ for he would thereby have communication with a wicked man in the worship of God, and cause him to take the name of God in vain.” With still greater austerity, he publicly taught “ that it was not lawful for an unregenerate man to pray, or for a good man to join in family prayer with those he judged unregenerate.” Another opinion of his will not probably sound quite so heinous in modern ears as it did to his old New England auditors, when he told them that the charter of Charles I. was utterly worthless, for the

Roger Wil-
liams.

CHAP. XVII. King of England had no right to cede to them the possessions of the Indians. But if ever man had established the right to hold his own opinions unchallenged, it was Roger Williams. His lofty principles of unqualified toleration were scorned and condemned by his fellow emigrants, because they were altogether in advance of his age. Cromwell, perhaps, more than any man of the 17th century, was capable of appreciating them, yet it may be doubted if even he had so early discerned the true spirit of liberty. It was the great doctrine by which the Protector of the Commonwealth of England afterwards sought to secure her liberty, and to prove himself her protector against her foes, and against herself, not securing the liberty of the Puritans by giving supremacy to Nonconformity, but uprooting Nonconformity as well as despotism, by extending equal liberty to all. "Roger Williams," says Bancroft, "announced his discovery under the simple proposition of the sanctity of conscience. The civil magistrate should restrain crime, but never control opinion; should punish guilt, but never violate the freedom of the soul. The doctrine contained within itself an entire reformation of theological jurisprudence: it would blot from the statute-book the felony of nonconformity; would quench the fires that persecution had so long kept burning; would repeal every law compelling attendance on public worship; would abolish tithes and all forced contributions to the maintenance of religion; would give an equal protection to every form of religious faith; and never suffer the authority of the civil government to be enlisted against the mosque of the Mussulman or the altar of the fire-worshipper, against the Jewish synagogue or the Roman cathedral. It is wonderful with what distinctness Roger Williams deduced these inferences from his great principle, the consistency with which, like Pascal and Edwards, those bold and profound reasoners on other subjects, he accepted every fair inference from his doctrines, and the circumspection with which he repelled every unjust imputation. In the unwavering assertion of his views he never changed his position; the sanctity of conscience was the great tenet, which, with all its consequences, he defended, as he first trod the shores of New England; and in his extreme old age it was the last pulsation of his heart."

A man can hardly commit a greater crime, according to the standard of his contemporaries, than that of being in advance of his age. It is an offence most hard to be forgiven; and assuredly the New England of that 17th century, upon which America now delights to look back as the cradle of liberty, was fully as little prepared as England to pardon the advocacy of the doctrine of perfect toleration, which, even in the nineteenth century, neither America nor England have altogether carried out. It is the shame of England that the conscientious religious opinions of a good subject can still be a bar to literary honours, and a disqualification for civil office. It is no less a shame to America that the colour of the skin, for which man is even less responsible, is a more insurmountable barrier to thousands of her citizens; meeting them alike in church and mart, and palsyng the voice of free discussion with a despotic tyranny that makes good men blush. It is not for either nation to cry shame on the other. Let their emulation be still which shall first win the noble goal of liberty that is the aim of both.

Roger Williams contended in vain with good men, strong in the sincerity of convictions which they had already endured much to maintain. The Puritan legislators of New England enacted, that the observance of public worship was a duty every member of the community owed to the state. No difference of opinion could excuse regular attendance at the parish church, nor could either the unwillingness of worldly men, or the scruples of tender consciences, win any relaxation from the law which subjected every member of the community to taxation for the maintenance of the religion of the majority. In addition to this, the adopted creed became a necessary qualification for the meanest civil office, and no test act was ever enforced more stringently in the worst time of England's Stuart rule than this was under the Puritan governors of New England. They had indeed this apology, that they had acquired the land as a refuge for themselves, and had endured not a few privations and sufferings that they might establish there an asylum wherein English Nonconformity might be free to plume its wings, and soar, unrestrained by any shackles but its own. The discriminating reader will not fail to give them every ad-

Puritan test
acts.

CHAP. XVII

vantage of this apology, nor will he refuse a just admiration for the uncompromising spirit with which they acted up to their imperfect views; although he still must own that they were two centuries behind the liberty of our age.

Banishment
of Williams.

The evils consequent on the establishment of dominant Puritanism in the colony of Massachusetts, came to a height when the advocate of perfect toleration was chosen by the people of Salem as their pastor. All the worst consequences that had sprung from the religious intolerance of the High Church party in England, were repeated under new forms in America. By a decree of the General Court, Roger Williams was banished from the colony. In the depth of winter, under storms more fierce than those that assailed the Pilgrim Fathers when they landed from the Mayflower, he had to skulk for many weeks amid the intricate wilds of the leafless forest, glad when he discovered a hollow tree to shelter him from the pitiless blasts of the north wind, laden with ice and snow. But "the ravens," said he, "fed me in the wilderness." The wild Indians protected the outcast; and through his long life he never forgot the debt of gratitude. Williams removed at length to Rhode Island. Five companions, who shared with him the large views of liberty for which he had endured such sufferings, followed him thither; and there, with the advice of the benevolent Governor of Boston, and beyond the reach of the charter of Massachusetts, the martyr of liberty founded a new settlement, to which he gave the name of PROVIDENCE. The history of Roger Williams has been written by his opponents. Tardy and grudging justice has been rendered to his memory. The eulogists of New England have been fain to magnify his errors, or to conceal his wrongs. England may now be proud that she gave birth to such a son, while America rejoices that amid the wilds of the New World, he found at length a shelter, where it was not held a crime to acknowledge no judge of conscience but God.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE PILGRIMS'S MEMORIALS.

The Pilgrim exile—sainted name!
 The hill, whose icy brow
 Rejoiced, when he came, in the morning's flame,
 In the morning's flame burns now:
 And the moon's cold light, as it lay that night
 On the hill-side and the sea,
 Still lies where he laid his houseless head;
 But the Pilgrim—where is he?

PIERPONT.

THE history of the Pilgrim founders of New England properly closes when their work as the pioneers is done. Difficulties, indeed, still beset the path of the colonists, and some of these of no ordinary character. In 1633, a number of ships, ready, with their emigrant passengers, to sail for New England, were stayed by an arbitrary order of Council, and forbid to depart, "because of the resorting thither of divers persons known to be ill-affected, not only with civil, but ecclesiastical government at home." It has even been said that Charles and his wise councillors arrested a ship in the Thames some few years later, which, but for their interference, would have borne Hampden and Cromwell to exhaust their mighty energies contending with the difficulties of an infant settlement;—a pregnant theme for reflection, did we not remember that men are but the tools of Providence. Yet how different had all the new centuries of England's history been, with her Hampden and Cromwell building log-huts in Massachusetts Bay! Wiser men than Laud would have thought England well rid of a few ship-loads of *ill-affected persons*. But the pedant priest flattered himself that the nation could be ruled with a pedagogue's rod; and by and bye he even volunteered to extend the salutary discipline of his ferule to the New England

CHAP. XVIII.

Laud's colonial mismanagement.

CHAP. XVIII. colonists. In 1635, Archbishop Laud was commissioned with irresponsible power to re-model all matters, civil or ecclesiastical, belonging to the colony; and things proceeded so far that a writ was made out against the Governor, Deputy-governor, and assistants of the Corporation of Massachusetts Bay; and even the valued charter was revoked. Mr. Winslow, one of the first Governors of Plymouth, visited England, and petitioned the Council to check some grievances which were felt to be injurious by the colonists. The Archbishop forthwith interfered, denounced Winslow as a separatist, had him clapped in durance in the Fleet; and fortunate it was for him, that the Archbishop's hands were too full of more pressing work to allow him to attend to the "scandalous licence" of the colonists, otherwise his escape would have been less easy than with only seventeen weeks' imprisonment. But the miseries of England were the life of the colony. While the long death-struggle of despotism was tugging at the vitals of the mother country, and her liberty trembled in the balance, the colonies were slowly acquiring the needful strength and consistency that enabled them to cope successfully with the agents of restored despotism. With these early annals of New England we need not intermeddle. They belong to the history of the colony, and of the great nation into which it is now incorporated; they belong also to the history of the nation from whence they sprung; but they form no portion of the legitimate annals of the Pilgrim Fathers.

Mr. Winslow's imprisonment.

"The Pilgrim Fathers are at rest;
 When summer's throned on high,
 And the world's warm breast is in verdure dressed,
 Go, stand on the hill where they lie.
 The earliest ray of the golden day
 On that hallowed spot is cast;
 And the evening sun, as he leaves the world,
 Looks kindly on that spot last.

"The Pilgrim spirit has not fled:
 It walks in noon's broad light;
 And it watches the bed of the glorious dead,
 With the holy stars by night.
 It watches the bed of the brave who have bled,
 And shall guard this ice-bound shore,
 Till the waves of the Bay where the Mayflower lay
 Shall foam and freeze no more."

We run little risk of over-estimating the influence of the Pilgrim Fathers on the history not only of their direct descendants, but of the whole Saxon race who now fill the vast continent from the River St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico. The memory of the Pilgrims of Plymouth is ever present, as an example or as a warning, calling on the American to emulate the noble self-denial of his ancestry, and to imitate their simple piety and trust in God. The narrow-minded and cold-hearted utilitarian sneers at the enthusiast who thus looks behind him for encouragement and guidance in the onward race. But he who has discerned the spirit of man aright, knows how powerful are the invisible links that unite him with the past.

The names of Bruce and Tell, of Hampden, Hoffer, Kosciusko,—the names of the fathers of liberty in every land,—stir the heart like the sound of a trumpet, and bid the soul of man aspire to his great birthright of freedom. Let then those nations bless God who has given them such an ancestry; for there are some who, looking down the far vista of the past, discern no such leaders. It was not Napoleon who taught France that glory was a better prize than liberty. He only caught up the echoes of older voices, and summoned the nation to follow in the steps of her historic leaders. Napoleon was the fit Washington of France. It is still pride enough for her to be identified with his questionable glory. When we look upon such gauges of the great tide-marks of history, we may well regard with interest the spirit of veneration with which the American Republican treasures the homeliest relic of his Pilgrim sires. It is a hero-worship unallied to superstition. It was when the revolutionary conflict with the mother country was at its crisis, that the citizens of Plymouth recalled the worth of their old Memorial Rock, on which a few poor and despised exiles had landed well nigh two centuries before, and rescued it from the encroaching wharfage of the busy sea-port. Again, in 1834, it was inaugurated with renewed ceremonial, and dedicated once more to the memory of the Founders of New England liberty. Nor does republican enthusiasm pause even here. The grave divine who has undertaken to illustrate the history of the "Plymouth Pilgrims," suggests that other duties still remain, ere the men of New England

Influence of
historic asso-
ciations.

CHAP. XVIII. shall learn to celebrate with fitting honours the landing of these conquerors of the wilderness. America must take a leaf from the page of old Europe's most eloquent ceremonial. Like Venice, "she must espouse the everlasting sea," in memory of those who triumphed amid its dangers, and bridged the Atlantic with a highway for the exiles of the Old World. "The people of Plymouth," says Dr. Cheever, "will not have done their duty to the original Rock, till they make a little park around it, down to the water's edge, where annually there might be a pleasant ceremony of landing from the sea, as solemn and magnificent as that of dropping a ring into the Adriatic at Venice, and much more glorious in its meaning. The Rock now in front of the hall, with the inscribed names in black around it, might be apt to suggest to the mind the idea of a coffin or monumental urn, with the pall-bearers. It looks too hearse-like for a pleasant impression, such as one would wish to have before that relic, which is the emblem of life, not death, for New England."

American
nationality.

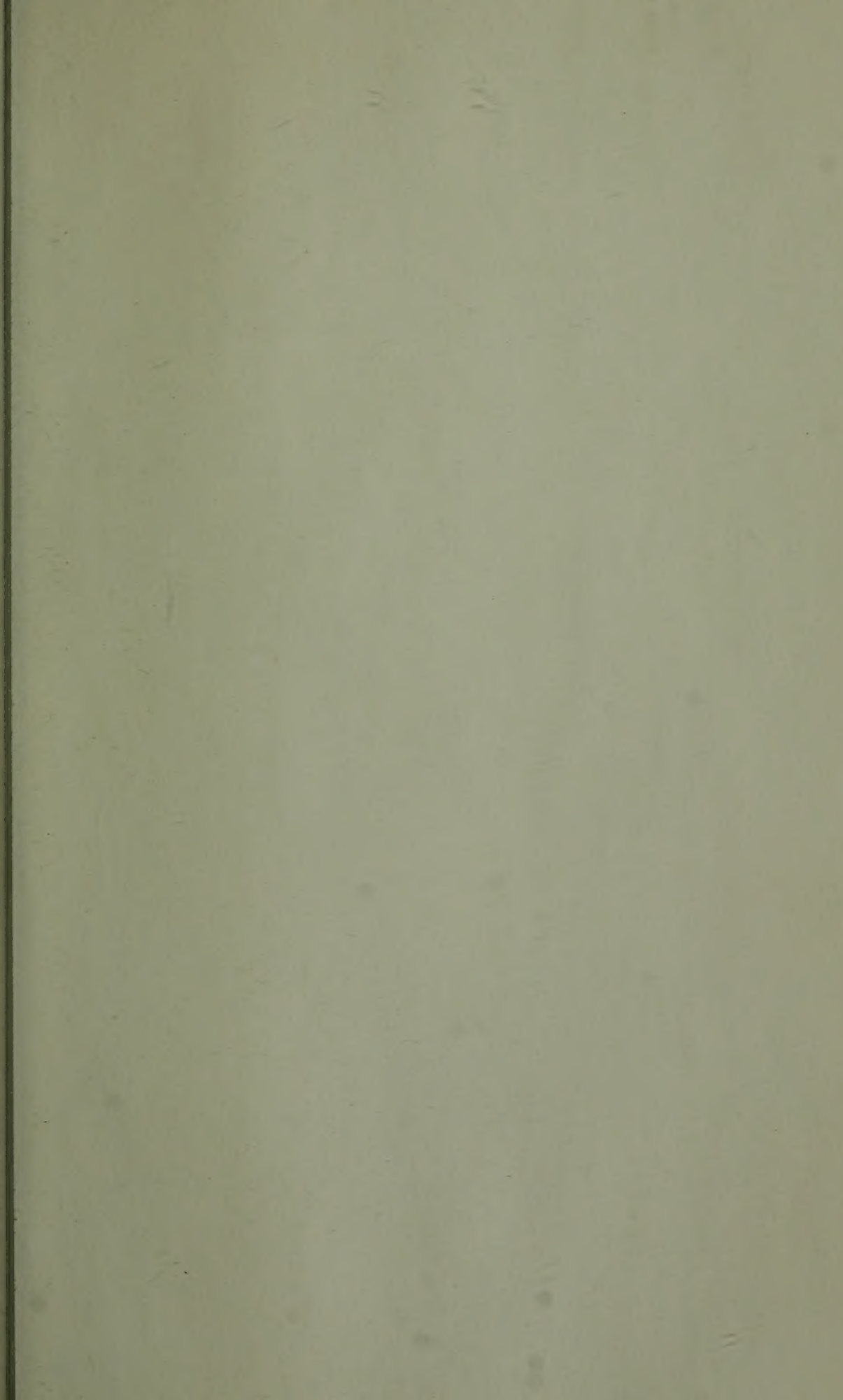
Whatever be the ceremonial, it should indeed be pleasant, though grave and earnest, as the deeds that it commemorates. America will do better, however, to trust to her own nationalities than to borrow her triumphant celebrations from such symbols of medieval fancy, rich as they are in old poetic feeling. She has her green forests, and her Beacon Hill; her broad encircled bay, with its winding shallows, and the memory of the little Mayflower still present there, with its bent yards and tattered sails. She has her old flag, which replaced the older standard of England, with its red cross of St. George, that roused the ire of the stern Endicott, as a badge and relic of Antichrist. She has her old seal too, still bearing the cross which once excited such strife and commotion in her early councils, now quartering the armorial shield of Plymouth quaintly charged with four Pilgrims at prayer. America needs no Old-World fancies to prompt her celebrations, while she keeps alive for other generations the memory of these Fathers of a great nation. Yet it is well that she should not, in her high republican pride, despise the pomps of old nations as antiquated and childish. Human nature is ever the same; and the noblest spirits feel the least condescension when they stoop to share

in the pastimes of a nation's holydays; for they know that beneath the rind and husk of such fantasies are hidden deeper things, kernels that germinate and produce worthy fruit in other times. The genial heart may well share in the rejoicings of such a festival, commemorating the advent of liberty amid so clouded a dawn. CHAP. XVIII.

Scattered among the chief cities of the northern states, there are still preserved with loving veneration, a few precious relics of the Fathers of the New World. The Massachusetts Historical Society possesses the swords of Carver and Brewster. The Pilgrim Society of Plymouth preserves that of Miles Standish. At Boston, the lineal descendant of Governor Winslow retains the portrait of his ancestor, as well as that of his son Isaac, who succeeded to the like honours, and those of other members of his distinguished father's race. An engraving of the portrait of Edward Winslow forms the frontispiece to "Young's Chronicles of the Pilgrims," and shows the fine, dignified, manly chief, to whom Cromwell confided the superintendence of the expedition against the West Indies, in 1655, from which he did not return. Among the same priceless family relics, is included the Bible of Governor Winslow, with the old family register, avouching the noble pedigree of its present owner. His arm-chair too, a plain but substantial old oaken seat, still remains as a coveted memento of the New England forefathers. Young appropriately introduces it as a vignette at the close of Bradford and Winslow's journal. In like manner he has preserved the form of Elder Brewster and Governor Carver's chairs; the latter a plain rush-bottomed chair, worthy in its simplicity to be the throne and judgment-seat of the first presidents of Plymouth colony. Relics of the Pilgrims.

Such are the few and simple relics which command the devout reverence of a great nation. Trifles are they, truly, when estimated by their mere intrinsic worth; but such as America might well refuse to exchange for the gold which Spanish galleons bore back to Europe as the spoils of the New World. Nor are these the sole memorials of the Pilgrim Fathers. Their monument is the nation that owns the little spot whereon they reared their wild home. Its free institutions, its generous and philanthropic deeds, its missionary labours, its arduous spirit of daring, its indomi-

CHAP. XVIII. table courage, its unquenchable love of liberty, all these are the memorials of the Pilgrims ; nor are they all that shall be. America has yet higher achievements and nobler victories before her. There are stains, dark stains, on her escutcheon. Good men blush at her boast of liberty while these remain, and mean spirits triumph in her shame. Other memorials shall be reared in America to the fathers of her liberty ; and when freedom has had her perfect triumph, Forefathers's Day will be celebrated with rites worthy of its old memories. But England also claims a share in these old memories ; and an interest in the power with which their lessons are so pregnant. She too has triumphs to achieve, ere the festival of liberty can be fitly celebrated. Slowly and with sore difficulty each step is won. But her progress, too, is onward. The golden age is before her, her warning only behind. May the two nations learn to emulate each other only in such generous triumphs, while they cherish the feelings that ought to animate races in whose veins are circulating the same old Saxon blood.



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